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Mandarin Chinese community schooling in England: Language, culture and pupils' identities

Sara Ganassin

A Thesis Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree
of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Durham



School of Education

February 2017

Abstract

Mandarin Chinese community schooling in England: Language, culture and pupils' identities

Sara Ganassin

This qualitative ethnographic study adopts a social constructionist approach to investigate the significance of Chinese community schooling in the lives of pupils, parents and school staff. The study is important because it challenges homogenous and stereotypical constructions of Chinese language, culture, and identity evident in some previous studies, and promoted in the media.

Several key findings emerged from the study. First, pupils and adults understood language learning as the main focus of Chinese community schooling, whether focused on learning Mandarin, or English for Chinese-migrant pupils. Second, pupils and adults valued the role of the school as capital in various forms (i.e., social, economic, and cultural). Third, a contrast emerged between the focus of the schools on Mandarin as dominant Chinese language and the diversity of Chinese languages spoken by pupils and adults (e.g., Hakka and Cantonese). Fourth, pupils valued the transmission of Chinese culture but, unlike the adults, they were interested in its meaning for their family histories and identities rather than in the interiorisation of values. Finally, community schooling played a positive role in pupils' lives as it encouraged them to claim the right to construct their identity as Chinese, regardless of their spoken language(s), their life trajectories, and family background. Overall, this study has shown that Chinese community schools are linguistically and culturally varied spaces where pupils and adults coconstruct concepts of Chinese language and culture that are both informed by their life trajectories and ideologically charged. Furthermore, the schools are spaces that encourage intercultural encounters and, as such, are sites for intercultural awareness and development rather than “ethnic enclaves”.

The study provides valuable insights for researchers in the areas of international and intercultural Chinese language education and researching multilingually. Also, the findings offer insights for researchers, educators, policy makers, and the parents and children participating in the life of the schools to better understand the phenomenon of Chinese language community schooling.

Title page

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Abbreviations

AGM Annual general meeting

CCS Chinese community schooling

CHL Chinese heritage language

DBS Disclosure and Barring Service

CIT Cultural identity theory

HL Heritage language

MN Methodological notes

NRCSE The National Resource Centre for Supplementary Education

ON Observation notes

SAR Special Administrative Region (of the People's Republic of China)

PRC The People's Republic of China (China)

PVT Pupil views template

RN Reflective notes

ROC The Republic of China (Taiwan)

SIT Social identity theory

TA Thematic analysis

TN Theoretical notes

UK The United Kingdom

UKFCS The UK Federation of Chinese Schools

Declaration

This thesis is my own work and no part of the material contained in it has previously been submitted for a degree in this or any other university.

Statement of copyright

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without the author's prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

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Dedication

致我亲爱的刘敬峰：

谢谢你一路以来的支持，读博之路并不易，是你在我低落悲观时的鼓励陪伴我完成了这段旅程。希望你以我为荣，为我骄傲，正如我为你自豪一样。

永远爱你的，

Sara

Chapter 1 Introduction

Overview

This qualitative study adopts a social constructionist approach to investigate the significance of Mandarin-Chinese community schooling as an intercultural space for the pupils and adults who are involved in it. Specifically, the study seeks to understand how Chinese language, culture, and identity are constructed, negotiated, and contested in the context of these schools.

Located within the phenomenon of international Chinese language education, this study is important because it challenges homogenous and stereotypical constructions of Chinese language, culture, and identity that have often been supported by academic and media attention. In contrast, by examining how pupils, parents, and teaching staff bring together their different experiences of life, migration, and their different understandings of the meaning of the word 'Chinese', this study argues for a greater acknowledgment of the diversity and complexity of representation within Chinese communities in the UK in terms of both language and identity in educational research. This opening chapter introduces the study. The first section (1.1) discusses the phenomenon of community schooling, its genesis, wider historical context, and the development of Chinese community schooling (CCS), and then considers how the shift from Cantonese to Mandarin in CCS has informed the focus of this study. The next two sections discuss the rationale for the study (1.2) and its research aims (1.3). Thereafter, my researcher positioning and my interest in the topic are introduced (1.4), and, finally, the key terms used in the study are clarified (1.5), prior to outlining the structure of the thesis (1.6).

1.1 Context of the study

This study is located in the broader context of community education and, specifically, community language education. Section 1.1.1 briefly presents the genesis and current state of community schooling in the UK. Section 1.1.2 outlines the phenomenon of CCS in the UK, and, finally, section 1.1.3 considers

how a combination of historical context and educational and political choices has resulted in a shift away from Cantonese-speaking to Mandarin-speaking schools.

1.1.1 Genesis and current state of community schooling in the UK

Migrant and ethnic minority communities in different parts of the world have dedicated resources to setting up schools which, alongside mainstream ones, provide children with learning opportunities particularly designed to maintain diverse and often underrepresented heritages and languages (Li & Wu, 2008; Archer, Francis, & Mau, 2010). The phenomenon of community language education, the locus of this study, has emerged in the UK over the last 60 years as a result of collective efforts made by different migrant communities (e.g., Polish, Italian, Finnish, Greek, Somali, Iranian, Turkish, and Chinese) (Li, 2006). Community schools are voluntary and self-funded organisations which usually run weekend classes or classes outside normal school hours (Li & Wu, 2008). They aim to fulfil a diverse range of purposes. Some schools have a strong orientation towards particular faiths or religions (e.g., Muslim and Jewish community schools), while others focus on supplementing the mainstream education curriculum by providing further opportunities for the exploration of culture and language-related topics (Arthur, 2003; Francis, Archer, & Mau, 2008).

In 2016, the National Resource Centre for Supplementary Education (NRCSE)—a national strategic and support organisation for community-led supplementary schools—estimated that there were 3,000 to 5,000 such schools in England. According to the NRCSE, these schools offer educational support on language, core curriculum, faith, culture, and other out-of-school activities to children attending mainstream schools.

In his review of the literature on community schooling in the UK, Li (2006) divides the schools into three broad categories: i) Afro-Caribbean schools; ii) faith schools; and iii) language schools. Currently, language community schools in the UK outnumber faith and Afro-Caribbean schools. The body of literature related to these three categories is reviewed vis-à-vis the focus of this study in chapter 2.

Although these three categories of schools (i.e., Afro-Caribbean, faith, and language) differ in terms of their aims and objectives, they share one common feature in that they represent a response to the failure of the mainstream education system to meet the needs of ethnic minority children and their communities (Li, 2006). An understanding of community schools as educational spaces aimed at providing for the needs of migrant and ethnic minority children (in the case of this study, the Chinese community) contributes to and informs the rationale for this study.

1.1.2 Chinese community schooling and Chinese migration in the UK

In the UK, as in many other countries, Chinese migrants have established weekend community language schools to promote their language and culture to the new generations (Li & Wu, 2008; Li & Zhu, 2011). Chinese community schools are largely voluntary organisations with a curriculum centred on the teaching of Chinese language (Mandarin or Cantonese) and the transmission of ‘traditional’ and contemporary Chinese culture (Wang, in press). Policies, pedagogical approaches, curriculum, and textbooks vary from school to school. However, the planned curriculum tends to be delivered in Chinese (Mandarin or Cantonese) (Wang, in press). Furthermore, a number of schools try to implement a ‘speak Chinese only policy’ in the classrooms (Li & Wu, 2008) and discourage the use of English and other languages.

Prior literature reports that the classes are primarily attended by second generation British-Chinese children (Mau, Francis, & Archer, 2009). However, Wang (2014) reports that pupils who have recently migrated from China, third generation British-Chinese, and non-Chinese children (i.e., local children interested in learning Chinese language) increasingly form part of the school population. Teachers are generally volunteers, parents, or university students (Li & Wu, 2008; Wang, in press) who have not necessarily received formal teacher training in the UK or abroad (Mau et al., 2009).

Although Chinese community schools are a relatively recent phenomenon—with the first informal reports of ‘home schooling’ dating back to the 1950s and 1960s (Li, 2014)—the history of Chinese migration in the UK dates back to the late 1840s (Benton & Gomez, 2008). At that time, seamen and labourers—

mainly from Mainland China, Hong Kong, and the New Territories—started to migrate in search of job opportunities (Benton & Gomez, 2008). Since then Chinese migration flows have been uninterrupted and consistent, and nowadays the settled British-Chinese community, which developed primarily from post-war migrants who began to arrive in the 1950s, constitutes the third largest migrant community in the country (Li, 2014; Jin & Dervin, in press). Over a quarter of the Chinese community in the UK are now British-born (Li, 2014).

Community language schools largely resulted from the efforts of post-war migrants to provide formal Chinese language education to children—who were previously educated by parents at home—in collective settings (Li, 2014). The first schools were set up in the late 1960s in large metropolitan areas such as London, Liverpool, and Manchester where there were significant numbers of Chinese residents (Li & Wu, 2009). As, at the time, the vast majority of Chinese migrants were Cantonese and/or Hakka speakers from Hong Kong and the New Territories, the first schools focused on the teaching of Cantonese (Li, 2014). From the late 1980s, schools began to teach Mandarin to children whose families had migrated from Mainland China (Wang, in press).

Four types of Chinese community schools have been identified by previous research (Li & Wu, 2008; Li, 2014) according to their target language (Mandarin or Cantonese) and their target learner groups. These are: a) Cantonese schools for Hong Kong migrant families; 2) Cantonese schools for migrant families with particular religious affiliations; 3) Mandarin schools for Mainland Chinese migrants; and, 4) Mandarin schools for Buddhist families, mainly from Taiwan.

At the time of the completion of this study, the UK Federation of Chinese Schools (UKFCS)—the largest UK-based charity aimed at promoting Chinese language and Chinese culture through its member schools—had about 80 member schools, representing over 10,000 pupils (Member Schools, n.d.). According to Li (2014), the UK has over 200 Chinese community schools, the majority of which are still located in large metropolitan areas. As community schools are independent from the mainstream education system, and thus are not obliged to register with either the UKFCS or with any other organisation

(e.g., the NRCSE, the UK Association for the Promotion of Chinese Education), it is difficult to estimate their exact number.

Although it can be argued that Chinese communities are not circumscribed within their language schools, community schools represent unique settings where Chinese language, culture, and identity are actively and openly fostered. Different schools have different policies, textbooks, and pedagogical approaches; a common goal in their mission statement is to teach Chinese language and transmit Chinese culture to school-aged Chinese children in the UK (Wang, in press). The missions of the schools define them not just as an educational environment but, more importantly, as self-defined cultural agents, places where Chinese language (Cantonese or Mandarin) is transmitted to the younger generations and culture is preserved and can be experienced (Li & Wu, 2009). With their often explicit agenda focused on maintenance and transmission of ‘traditional’ cultures and languages, Chinese community language schools also represent ideal sites to investigate themes of Chinese culture, language, and identity (Mau et al., 2009; Francis et al., 2010).

At the same time, previous literature has defined these schools as cultural, “ethnic enclaves and a ‘sanctuary’ from minorisation” (Francis et al., 2009, p. 532). The intercultural perspective of this study challenges the idea of schools as enclaves, a notion which often implies inner homogeneity, separateness, and isolation from a distinct outer environment. Instead, by accounting for linguistic and cultural diversity in the schools, this study seeks to understand Chinese community schools as spaces for intercultural encounters, places where people, infused with different cultures and world-views can negotiate cultural and social identifications and representations (Kramsch, 1998).

Having set the overarching context of Chinese community schooling, the next section discusses how the historical shift from Cantonese to Mandarin schools informed the focus of this study.

1.1.3 Shift from Cantonese to Mandarin community schools and focus of this study

As educational entities created by migrants from Hong Kong and the New Territories, Chinese community language schools were traditionally focused on

the transmission of Cantonese. However, in the past decade the rising economic power of the People's Republic of China (PRC), the related opportunities, and the arrival of new groups of Mandarin-speaker migrants have contributed towards a major shift from Cantonese schooling to Mandarin schooling (Mau et al., 2009).

Despite not all Chinese speakers' (i.e., those in China, Taiwan, Singapore, and elsewhere) having Mandarin as their first language, and the fact that other languages and dialects are spoken, Mandarin is the official language of the PRC and as such retains a strong political dimension. As Archer et al. (2010) point out, "particular critical concern has been directed at the role that the Chinese state continues to play within the construction and defence of dominant notions of contemporary Chineseness" (p. 409). As Chinese community schools are often charged with an agenda aimed at promoting a sense of Chinese PRC identity through language teaching, language teaching itself becomes a political act. Thus, this study particularly seeks to understand how the promotion of Mandarin as the dominant Chinese language impacts on the ways in which pupils understand themselves, and whether Mandarin's centrality in the Chinese community schools' agenda contributes to enforcing or to challenging homogeneity in constructions of Chinese identities.

Mapping the population and practices of CCS in the UK, Mau et al. (2009) noted some of the Cantonese-based schools have added Mandarin classes to address the demands of enthusiastic parents foreseeing the opportunities available to Mandarin speakers. This enthusiasm for Mandarin has also generated debate amongst parents and educators on which of the two languages—Mandarin or Cantonese—should be prioritised within community schooling (Mau et al., 2009). Arguments favouring the use of Mandarin, and simplified characters, include not only a desire on the part of parents to foster stronger links with homeland China and Chinese identity but also a wish to gain all the related benefits of being a Mandarin speaker, especially in terms of employment prospects.

However, the conceptualisation of Chinese identity promoted within Mandarin community schooling that this study seeks to investigate is problematic. The

British-Chinese community (see discussion in 1.5.2) has a diverse origin in that it includes a large body of Cantonese and Hakka speakers (including migrants from Hong Kong and Macau), along with migrants from Taiwan and Singapore whose heritage language is not necessarily Mandarin (Benton & Gomez, 2008).

Controversies involve not only the spoken dimension of the language—explored in the next chapter—, but also literacy in terms of favouring the usage of traditional characters (繁体字 *fántǐzì*) used in Taiwan, Macao, and Hong Kong over the usage of the simplified characters (简体字 *jiǎntǐzì*) introduced extensively in Mainland China by the Maoist regime in the mid-50s. As Mau et al. (2009) point out, controversies over languages (e.g., Mandarin and Cantonese) and writing systems (simplified and traditional) involve issues that go beyond mere practicalities with cultural, social, and political implications and become embroiled in issues such as political affiliation with the PRC and Taiwan.

Given such issues and implications, investigating the experiences of Mandarin rather than Cantonese community schools is central to this study partly because those schools' experiences represent more recent and less explored realities than those of well-established Cantonese schools (i.e., Mau et al., 2009; Archer et al., 2010). I wanted to explore both how the centrality of Mandarin in the agenda of the schools is not only educationally but also ideologically charged and how the role of Mandarin Chinese language education is understood by adults and pupils, given the diversity of their backgrounds (i.e., as speakers of other varieties of Chinese).

Furthermore, as explained in section 1.5, this choice was informed by my personal interest and study background which focused on Mandarin-Chinese in simplified characters and the history of China.

1.2 The rationale for the study

The teaching of the Chinese language, related teachings about China, 'Chinese worlds', and the Chinese themselves are increasing around the world. This interest in Chinese language is also due to China's socioeconomic development and the growing popularity over the last decade of the use of Chinese for commercial and cultural communication (Jin & Dervin, in press).

As far as the promotion of Chinese language and culture is concerned, initiatives are taking place at all levels of the curriculum (e.g., Chinese studies courses offered at not just university level but also within primary and secondary schooling systems) both in the UK and in other parts of the world. Such initiatives are promoted by Chinese authorities and/or local organisations and institutions such as community schools, and particularly, through the Confucius Institute (Jin & Dervin, in press).

Chinese community schools are located within the global scenario of international Chinese language education. In the UK, as in other parts of the world, these schools represent sites where Chinese language and ‘culture’ are not only taught but where discourses of language and culture are also used to preserve and foster a sense of Chinese identity. Previous studies have demonstrated how community language schools represent linguistically and culturally varied educational spaces offering an alternative to the monolingual and monocultural orientation of the mainstream education system (Creese et al., 2008; Creese, 2009; Li & Wu, 2008), and how they also helped pupils to resist ethnic categories and social stereotypes associated with static identity markers (Creese & Blackledge, 2012).

Overall, community language schools—Chinese amongst them—are increasingly acknowledged as a resource for the whole society, and for multilingual Britain, in an increasingly globalised world (Wang, in press). At the same time, although community schools have attracted public debate in relation to the government's involvement in educational management, few studies have attempted to critique and examine these schools’ own policies and practices (Li & Wu, 2009; Li, 2014).

Previous studies (e.g., Li & Wu, 2009; Archer et al., 2010) argued that these schools represent an important social context for developing the identities of the children attending them. In proposing areas for further research, Li and Wu (2009) suggested that “the impact this specific context has on the children's identity development is an issue worth further investigation” (p. 196).

Yet, only recently have researchers started to examine the population and practice of CCS in the UK (Francis et al., 2008; Francis et al., 2009; Li & Zhu,

2010; Mau et al., 2009). At the same time, over the last decade, there has been a paucity of research on CCS in the UK. It is that lacuna that this study seeks to address.

In this study I will argue that, as community language schools offer an alternative to the monolingual and monocultural orientation of the mainstream education system, they also represent ideal spaces for intercultural encounters. Pupils, parents, and teaching staff bring together their different experiences of life, migration, and different understandings of Chinese language and culture. Thus, how individuals negotiate their own identity positions and (cultural) representations in intercultural encounters lies at the centre of this study.

Having discussed the rationale for the research and its significance, I now turn to its aims.

1.3 Research aims

This study is located within the broader field of intercultural education and communication. The research approach is informed by the theoretical framework of social constructionism. It uses ethnographic, qualitative methods to investigate how participants construct meaning—and, in particular, concepts of language, culture, and identity—within and in response to the studied setting (i.e., two Mandarin Chinese community schools in England). This research approach allows me to investigate and understand the shifting, contextual, and negotiable nature of individuals' subjective constructions of language, culture, and identity.

This study draws on the data from two Chinese community schools—Apple Valley and Deer River—situated in two different areas of England. The study draws upon the experiences of three groups of pupils (23 children), and eight parents, two head teachers, and eight teachers (18 adults) who participated in it. Because of the ethnographic approach used in the study, and my extensive involvement as an observer-participant in the schools, I, as the researcher, am also a participant.

Throughout this study of two Mandarin Chinese community schools in England my overarching aim is:

- To understand the role of Chinese community schools as intercultural educational spaces where Chinese language, culture, and identity are promoted by the agenda of the schools and, at the same time, constructed, negotiated, and contested by pupils and adults.

Subsumed within this overarching aim are the following aims:

- To explore the role and significance of Chinese community schooling from the perspectives of pupils, parents, and school staff.
- To investigate participants' constructions of culture and language vis-à-vis the agenda of the school.
- To explore how such constructions support pupils' understanding of self and how this understanding shapes their identity.
- To explore the significance of a multilingual researcher approach in this research context.

Having presented the aims of this study, I now define my interest in the topic.

1.4 Researcher positioning: My interest in the topic

A number of my participants asked me why 'a Westerner' would do research on Chinese people in the UK and why, for instance, I would not research Italians as 'my own community'. The same question was often asked by a number of Italians whom I had encountered over the past 5 years—within and outside academia—as they were curious about my topic choice. At times people praised the 'exoticism' of my topic choice; at times they expressed scepticism, as I was undertaking research where 'my' language and culture would have no relevance.

It is my own experience of study and work and interest in China that gave rise to this study. My relationship with Italy and my identity as an Italian national is somehow predetermined, as I was born and educated in Italy. By contrast, my interest in China and my affiliation with it comes from choice.

Pursuing a childhood dream to live in China, I studied Mandarin and Chinese 'culture' and history in Venice. I then lived in Taiwan and China, where my professional experience in the European manufacturing and business sector

made me realise that I wanted to pursue a career in the voluntary sector. Seeing the exploitative working conditions of Chinese employees, together with the desire to work in a socially meaningful sector, were the main factors that convinced me to accept a job with a British-based voluntary organisation.

As a result, this study is also informed by my own 7-year experience as a practitioner in the NGO sector working with migrant communities in England. Prior to and during my doctorate, I worked as a researcher and development officer with refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants. I supported a number of projects with and for women, young people, and children across a number of communities (i.e., Somali, Afghani, Indian, Pakistani, and many other communities). When I enrolled in my PhD programme, I was working in a large project aimed at tackling cultural inequalities among vulnerable ethnic minority women's groups where community researchers engaged with multilingual participants (Ganassin & Holmes, 2013).

In light of my own experience of study, work, and migration, I soon saw how academic research can represent a powerful way to promote dialogue between different communities in an attempt to bridge the host with the 'Other'.

Hence, this study brings together my interest in the 'Chinese world' and my understanding of the importance of education in promoting social justice and intercultural dialogue. This research was developed in the hope of contributing to the literature on intercultural Chinese education and so the thesis argues that community schools represent important sites where Chinese language, culture, and identity are not only promoted, but also contested and reworked by adults and children who construct their own, individual sense of being Chinese.

At the same time, I wanted to raise awareness about the situation of the Chinese communities in the UK and to challenge existing stereotypes. Often academic and media attention has depicted Chinese people in the UK as a successful, hard-working, but also conservative and 'invisible', ethnic minority (Archer & Francis, 2007) enforcing stereotypical constructions of a collective British-Chinese identity. For example, Mau and Archer (2005a, 2005b) pointed out the 'invisibility' of Chinese pupils within wider socioeducational theory and

research that has praised their positive educational performances, but also critiqued their supposed conformism and passivity.

In contrast, this study draws on participants' subjective constructions of Chinese language, culture, and identity negotiated vis-à-vis their personal life trajectories (i.e., family, ancestry, experience of migration), and their intercultural encounters within and outside their community schools, to account for the diversity and complexity pertaining to the Chinese community in the UK.

In chapters 3 and 8, I continue to discuss my reflexive account and the role of researcher reflexivity in this study.

Prior to outlining the structure of the thesis, I next clarify key terms used in this study.

1.5 Key terms

This study uses three key terms in the exploration of the significance of the phenomenon of Chinese community schooling as spaces for intercultural encounters. These are: "community schooling", "Chinese" and "interculturality".

The main theoretical underpinnings of this study—Chinese language, culture, and identity—are discussed in the literature review as they are important in defining the ideologies of the schools and how such ideologies have been interpreted, contested, and reconstructed by pupils and adults.

I begin by conceptualising the phenomenon of community schooling and problematising terminology choices made in the literature (i.e., supplementary, complementary, and heritage language schools).

1.5.1 Community schooling

In the literature, community schools are also termed supplementary schools (e.g., Reay & Mirza, 2000), or complementary schools (e.g., Creese, 2009; Li & Wu, 2009; Li, 2014; Martin et al., 2004), or heritage language schools (Li & Wu, 2008). Such terminological choices not only imply a focus on different educational emphases within the schools, but also describe the nature of their relationship with the mainstream education system.

Arguments stressing the “supplementarity” of the schools emphasise that they were set up to supplement teaching provided within mainstream schooling in response to criticisms that mainstream education failed to support, and even excluded, language acquisition (Reay & Mirza, 2000). The term supplementary is also often used in national government and local authority documentation (Maylor et al., 2010), where the schools are seen as additional to the mainstream state education system and, perhaps, as such, subordinated.

Instead, studies which describe the schools as “complementary” move away from the concept that the main function of the schools is supplementing educational gaps in the mainstream system. They identify their main focus not only as providing additional learning opportunities for ethnic minority pupils, especially in terms of language acquisition (Martin, Creese, Bhatt, & Bhojani, 2006), but also as having a concern for the educational and social importance of these schools in the lives of those who are involved in them (Martin et al., 2004; Creese et al., 2007; Mau et al., 2009).

Overall, although notions of complementarity and supplementarity share similarities, such as the identification of a gap in the mainstream system, complementarity “evoke[s] a non-hierarchical relationship to mainstream schooling” (Mau et al., 2009, p. 17).

A third category in the literature is heritage language schools (Li & Wu, 2008). Li and Wu draw on this category to present their work on language ideologies and practices in Chinese heritage language (CHL) schools in England.

Conceptually, the idea of heritage language evokes family relevance and the emotional value of the language for the learners (Fishman, 2001). It also assumes some degree of exposure to the language at home (Valdés, 2001). Therefore, the definition of heritage language schools implies that pupils are heritage language learners, and that they have a degree of proficiency in and an emotional relationship with the language of the schools through the presence of that language in their home and family life. However, as argued in chapter 2—where the idea of Chinese heritage language is discussed in further depth—the idea of heritage language schools does not reflect the complexity and diversity of the language backgrounds of pupils nor their relationship with Chinese

language(s). The Chinese community in the UK is extremely diverse, and migrants from different parts of the Chinese world (i.e., Mainland China, Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan) or from areas where Chinese communities are largely present (e.g., Malaysia and Vietnam) do not necessarily have Mandarin as their heritage language (Benton & Gomez, 2008). As other languages and varieties of Chinese are spoken (e.g., Hakka and Hokkien), the assumption of Mandarin as a universal Chinese heritage language does not take into consideration linguistic diversity. Thus, for these reasons, the adoption of the term “Chinese heritage language schools” to define my two research sites is contentious and the construction of Chinese heritage language(s) is investigated as part of the research aims rather than taken for granted.

Instead, the concept “community language schools” is more applicable to my study for a number of reasons. First, the concept acknowledges the importance of these schools to the communities that establish and run them, and their potential role in the political and social life of the wider context where they are located (Li, 1993; Martin et al., 2004). Further, the community dimension of the schools as spaces where not only pupils but also adults and teachers interact and negotiate their positions on language, culture, and identity is important in this study which compares and contrasts participants’ perspectives. Finally, the concept of language community schooling focuses attention on the transmission of a language (in this study, Mandarin-Chinese) to the younger generations. At the same time, it leaves open for discussion how people involved in the schools—and especially pupils—understand and construct the language itself (for example, as a heritage, second, or even additional language).

1.5.2 The term “Chinese” in this study

This study encompasses different Chinese domains as it refers throughout to Chinese language(s), culture, community, people, and identity. At the same time, it is important to acknowledge how in English the use of the term “Chinese” carries a degree of ambiguity. In its general sense, it can refer to ethnicity, culture, language, and national community and identity (Li, 2014; Huang, 2015). As this ambiguity is meaningful in a study centred on identity construction (Li, 2014), here I clarify how the word Chinese is generally used in this study.

The definition of Chinese language(s) (i.e., Mandarin and Chinese 方言 *fāngyán*, varieties or dialects) and the conceptualisation of Chinese as heritage language(s) (CHLs) is/are discussed in the next chapter as a separate issue. “Culture”, as the theoretical underpinning of this study, is also discussed in the literature review.

The use of the term Chinese in this study is informed by three main issues related to its meaning in English, to Chinese language, and to my positioning as researcher towards existing ideological debates (i.e., not only the relations between the political entities of China and Taiwan but also the status of the two Special Administrative Regions of Hong Kong and Macao).

As anticipated, the English term Chinese is generic, and when used to define people, it can refer either to nationals of China (People’s Republic of China) and Taiwan (Republic of China), or to Singaporean and Malaysian Chinese and members of overseas Chinese communities (e.g., British Chinese, American Chinese) (Huang, 2015) .

The second issue is related to the terminology available in Mandarin-Chinese when defining Chinese people (e.g., 中国人 *zhōngguóren* , 华人 *huárén*, 华侨 *huáqiáo* but also 大陆人 *dàlùrén*). Previous research has demonstrated that even when more specific Chinese definitions (e.g., 华人 *huárén* and 华侨 *huáqiáo*) are used issues of ambiguity can persist. For example, in his work on community language education in the UK, Li (2014) emphasised how the Chinese term 中国人 *zhōngguóren* (Chinese people) can be ambiguous as it, potentially, refers not only to a general ethnic category, but also to Chinese citizens or nationals. At the same time, two terms commonly used to define people of Chinese origin living outside of China—华人 *huárén* and 华侨 *huáqiáo*—also present translation issues (Li, 2014) because the first refers to a person of Chinese ethnic origin, while the latter refers to a Chinese citizen living outside China. In fact, in English they both tend to be translated as “overseas Chinese”, a term that does not take into consideration the conceptual difference between 华人 *huárén* and 华侨 *huáqiáo*. For the purpose of this study, in referring to people in the British-Chinese community or communities, I

subscribe to the concept of 华人 *huárén* which, in this thesis, is used to refer the “Chinese community”, as it takes into account the point that people’s affiliation with the Chinese world can encompass many domains and that that affiliation is not linked to a particular citizenship.

Overall, I have tried to maintain a degree of clarity throughout the thesis by using a terminology that accurately respected the participants’ subjective understandings of Chinese identity and culture.

Alongside the need to discuss issues related to the terminology describing Chinese people and communities, I also need to define the geo-political entities mentioned in this study.

When I refer to the geo-political entities of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) or 中华人民共和国 *Zhōnghuá Rénmín Gònghéguó*, and to the Republic of China (ROC) or 中華民國 *Zhōnghuá Mínguó*, I term them respectively China and Taiwan. These terms were also consistently used by my participants regardless of their provenance.

The status of Hong Kong and Macao as Special Administrative Regions (SAR)—in Chinese 中華人民共和國香港特別行政 (Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China) and 中華人民共和國澳門特別行政區 (Macao Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China) —presented a further issue in terms of terminology.

Previous studies have argued that the communities of Hong Kong and Macao have diverged from Mainland China as a consequence of their long-term separation (Dong, 2014), and thus that the two SARs should not be included in the definition of China (Huang, 2015). Although this study acknowledges the complexity in the history of the two SARs, including their colonial past and transition respectively from British and Portuguese rule (Ngo, 1999), I consider both regions to now be under the sovereignty— although not under the direct jurisdiction—of the PRC and, consequently, as part of its territory. Unless otherwise stated, the term “China” in this thesis, therefore, refers to the People’s Republic of China including the two SARs of Hong Kong and Macao. The term

Mainland China—in Chinese *Zhōngguó dàlù* 中国大陆—(as used, for example, in section 1.1.2) is employed when the context required me to refer to the PRC, excluding the two SARs. An explanation of the usage of the terms related to China and Taiwan is provided in the glossary.

A final remark can be made regarding the use of the term Chinese and my own positioning as researcher. Although I tried not to influence participants' understanding of the term Chinese, I am conscious that my own positioning towards the Chinese world needs to be acknowledged. This study is based on the viewpoint that constructions of Chinese culture and identity are not necessarily related to an affiliation with a particular political entity. For example, in their work on Chinese language learning and identity in overseas Chinese communities, Curdt-Christiansen and Hancock (2014) argued that there are many pathways to learning the Chinese language and being “Chinese”. Furthermore, in her work on Taiwanese national identity in study abroad contexts, Huang (2015) moves from her perspective as Taiwanese researcher, to argue that the concept of Chinese culture is exclusive to neither China nor Taiwan.

Representations of Chineseness can be diverse and exist at both the macro and the micro level, and such diversity can encompass language practices, individual experiences of life, and migration (Ang, 1998). The conceptualisation of Chinese is also complex and politically charged within and beyond educational research. Issues concern, for example, the status of the two SARs and the five autonomous regions or 自治区 *zìzhìqū* (Guangxi, Inner Mongolia, Ningxia, Tibet, and Xinjiang) and their relationship with the geo-political entity of the PRC.

My position towards “the Chinese” in this study takes into account the diversity and richness inherent in “Chineseness”. As argued by Cheng (2007), despite the fact that China has often been termed in Western literature as a “monochrome forest”, it encompasses a range of multilingual and multicultural realities. Chinese culture, like all cultures, is not a fixed entity and it is constantly evolving (Jin & Dervin, in press). Such complexity and fluidity need to be captured in research.

At the same time, I am aware that the concept of Chinese is embedded in specific cultural, historical, and global geo-political settings and that sensitivity to such settings is needed in research (Jin & Dervin, in press). Particularly, I endorse the vision of China as a civilisation resulting from complex historical processes (e.g., the transition from empire to republic), where a sense of continuity has been maintained (Sabattini & Santangelo, 2005). Overall, the concept of Chinese civilisation transcends the limits of the political entities of the PRC-China and the ROC-Taiwan and relates to the idea of a pan-Chinese identity.

Most importantly, in this study I seek to understand how and why participants used concepts of Chinese (but also Hong-Konger, Mainlander, Taiwanese) to make sense of who they are as they interacted with others in the schools and with me, the researcher.

1.5.3 The term “interculturality” in this study

In the introduction, I stated that this study is located in the broader fields of intercultural education and communication. Furthermore, in providing its rationale, I am concerned with the centrality of individuals’ intercultural encounters as sites where they negotiate their own identity positions and representations. Hence, it is important to clarify the theoretical understanding of the terms intercultural and interculturality in this study and how these concepts informed its development.

Zhu (2014, 2016) defines interculturality in relation to how people exhibit their cultural identities in everyday social interaction. In the context of this study, the concept of interculturality is used to analyse the ways in which participants construct the role of the Chinese language and culture—through Chinese community education—in their lives and in the lives of their children. As argued by Jin (2016), interculturality is a fluid process that implies a multiplicity and intersectionality of perspectives about culture and identity. It is this dimension of exchange and intersectionality that this study seeks to capture by investigating how pupils’ experiences of community schooling, including the intercultural encounters that the schools facilitate, impact on their sense of identity.

Finally, community schools can be conceptualised as spaces for intercultural encounters, as places where people from different cultural, national, and social backgrounds come together and talk to each other. From this perspective, the schools are sites of intercultural communication, and also potential sites for intercultural learning and critical self-awareness development (Holmes & O'Neill, 2012).

Having clarified the key terms used in this study, I conclude this chapter by outlining the structure of the thesis. In addition, a glossary outlines how I used and interpreted a number of other recurrent terms for the purpose of this study.

1.6 Outline of the chapters

This first chapter has introduced the study and stated its background, rationale, and aims. Chapter 2 provides a literature review of previous research on the phenomenon of community schooling in the UK. It also discusses language—and in particular Chinese heritage language (CHL)—and “culture” and “identity” as key theoretical concepts that guide this study. The literature review identifies the limitations of extant studies on CCS, and hence, the emergence of the research questions that guide this study. These are presented at the end of chapter 2.

Chapter 3 presents the methodology adopted in this study. In setting out the qualitative approach of the study, it describes both the methods used in collecting and analysing the data, and the criteria used to judge the validity of the research. The presentation of the pilot study, conducted prior to the main study, concludes the chapter.

Chapter 4 represents the first of the four findings chapters. It compares and contrasts the ways in which pupils, parents, and teachers understood the aims and focus of Chinese community schooling. Drawing on the schools’ dual agenda of maintaining Mandarin-Chinese language and Chinese culture, chapters 5 and 6 focus respectively on participants’ (pupils’, parents’, and teachers’) constructions of language and culture. Through analysis of participants’ views, these two chapters also offer a critical discussion of the concepts of language and culture, and of the ideologies underpinning them in the context of CCS.

Chapter 7 is the last findings chapter. It investigates how pupils' overall experiences of community schooling and, in particular, their constructions of language and culture impacted on their sense of identity. Finally, in chapter 8, I present the conclusions of this study, outline the study's limitations, and suggest directions for further research.

Chapter 2 Literature review

Overview

Prior to presenting the study's research questions, this chapter discusses both the literature related to community schooling and key theoretical concepts which underlie this area. First, I review the extant literature on a range of different experiences of community schooling in the UK (i.e., Afro-Caribbean, Gujarati, faith, and language schools) and show how that literature shaped the direction of this study (2.1). Three key theoretical concepts emerged from the literature review and are discussed vis-à-vis theories and literature in the areas of intercultural education, communication, and applied linguistics (2.2). These key ideas encompass: language as a social construct and, particularly, Chinese as a heritage language (2.3); "culture" (2.4); and, "identity" (2.5). Following, I discuss how a theoretical 'bricolage' approach has informed the development of this study. Finally, I draw some conclusions from the reviewed literature prior to defining my research questions and the direction of my study (2.7).

2.1 The phenomenon of community schooling in the UK

In order to identify issues relevant to this study, I first review the literature on Afro-Caribbean and Gujarati (2.1.1), faith (2.1.2), and, language schools (2.1.3), following the three categories of community schools defined by Li (2006) (see discussion in 1.1.1). A separate section is dedicated to Chinese community schooling as the focus of this study (2.1.4).

As Reay and Mirza (1997) note, Afro-Caribbean community schools rank among the most established community schools in the UK with a history dating back to the 1950s when the first post-war migrant flows arrived in the UK from the West Indies (Reay & Mirza, 1997). Reay and Mirza (2000) argue that the desire for better educational opportunities for children represented one of the main pull factors for Afro-Caribbean migration into the UK. However, those who desired these opportunities had to face difficulties and exclusion from an equal place in the educational system (Reay & Mirza, 2000). Hence, the creation of the Afro-Caribbean community schools was the result of a collective effort on the

part of the Afro-Caribbean community—and especially mothers and women—to provide their children with better educational opportunities (Martin et al., 2006).

2.1.1 Afro-Caribbean and Gujarati community schools

In this section, I review the literature on Afro-Caribbean and Gujarati community schooling in the UK, and consider how such studies inform the broader literature on community schooling and provide cues for reflection in terms of my own study.

Reay and Mirza's study, conducted in 2000, examines four Afro-Caribbean schools in the London metropolitan area. By analysing the subjective experiences of a representative sample of parents, teachers, and pupils, it explores the sociopolitical role of Afro-Caribbean schools. Reay and Mirza's (2000) research uncovers a range of articulated themes which can be summarised in four key points: 1) Afro-Caribbean community schools represent genderised—in that they were primarily set up and run by women—and racialised social movements in their own right; 2) the schools help to rework traditional notions of community, stressing how individuals are interdependent and connected by common needs (i.e., better education for their children); 3) "whiteness" as normative is contested and a positive alternative notion of "blackness" is uncovered; and, 4) the schools display a positive 'child-centred' teaching approach. Furthermore, Reay and Mirza emphasised the role of education as a political act that extends beyond the processes of learning and teaching. They claim that as a political act education humanises those who deliver and receive it. The Afro-Caribbean community schools are, therefore, not simply a response to poor mainstream educational provisions, but also a covert movement for social change impacting on the wider society (Reay & Mirza, 2000). Reay and Mirza (2000) conclude overall that the role of community schooling can be defined as providing a social, educational, and political space. In my study, I investigate how Chinese community schools similarly represent social, political, and educational spaces aimed not only at countering the monolingual and monocultural focus of the mainstream

education system, but also at delivering their own agenda, as discussed in the findings chapters.

The second example, Martin et al. (2006), focuses on student-teacher interaction and language practices (English and Gujarati) in a Gujarati community school in Leicester. A combination of one-to-one interviews, participant observation, and questionnaires was used to collect the data. Martin et al. (2006) produce three main findings: 1) English and Gujarati were equally approved by the school curriculum and their use was not compartmentalised, but apposed spontaneously; 2) both languages were used strategically by teachers and pupils to accomplish and optimise teaching and learning; and, 3) pupils manifested a preference for the English language, but they did not see switching from one language to the other as problematic. As far as the investigation of language practices is concerned, their research findings show how code-switching between English and Gujarati was used in the classroom as a pedagogic strategy (Martin et al., 2006). In fact, English and Gujarati were juxtaposed spontaneously by both teachers and pupils to accomplish teaching and learning. This flexible use of language resources was neither problematised nor questioned by anyone associated with these schools, which emerged as safe spaces for pupils to perform their multilingual identities (Martin et al., 2006). Martin et al.'s research supports the identification of language and language practices as areas of interest for my own study. In particular, their findings call attention to the importance of language as a pedagogic and strategic resource for identity performance. The role of code-switching, which is central in their study, can be understood as the mixing of languages in the same utterance and alternation between languages in conversation, according to experience, environment, and communicative purposes (Li & Wu, 2008).

Taking a lead from Martin et al.'s discussion on code-switching, my study investigates how language(s) are used in the context of Chinese community schooling and, in particular, in the teacher-pupil interaction. However, in my study the concept of translanguaging—discussed in 2.4.3—is preferred to code-switching and adopted as a theoretical concept to guide the analysis of the study

participants' language practices. The reasons for this choice are discussed in the second part of the chapter.

The third example examined in this section was carried out in two Gujarati community schools in Leicester. It explores how community schooling can encourage pupils to perform different identity positions (Creese et al., 2006). Its research design draws on observational methods, along with parental questionnaires, group interviews with students, and one-to-one semistructured interviews with parents, teachers, and one student.

The research discusses three salient identity positions: 1) heritage/community; 2) learner; and, 3) multicultural. The first position links to the importance for children of retaining a connection both with the local Gujarati-speaking community in Leicester and with their ancestry in India and East Africa through Gujarati language learning. The second identity position—openly encouraged by both parents and teachers—suggests that the multilingual and multicultural dimension of community schooling can support children to become successful learners. Whilst the first two positions emerged as explicitly encouraged by the schools, the third was implicitly developed through the intrinsic multicultural nature of the classrooms. Overall, the opportunity for pupils to subscribe to a number of identity positions, suggesting the development of a fluid and contextual range of identities within the schools, is relevant to my own research. Different theoretical perspective on identity are explored later in this chapter (2.5).

In conclusion, the review of literature on Afro-Caribbean and Gujarati community schooling has a number of implications for this study. First, it defines community schools as social, political, and educational spaces. Furthermore, it emphasises the importance of languages and multilingual practices both as pedagogic strategies to accomplish teaching and learning and as resources for identity performance. Hence, I identified the following areas for investigation in this study: the aims and focus of community schooling; the role of language and language practice; and, the identity positions developed by pupils within the schools.

Next, I focus on research on faith schools in the UK and discuss its relevance for this study.

2.1.2 Faith schools: Claim for a separate education

The second category of community schools identified by Li (2006) is faith community schools, schools that focus on the transmission of particular faiths or religions. This section considers the experiences of the UK's most prevalent faith schools, Muslim and Jewish community schools (Li, 2006).

Specific of the genesis of the British-Muslim schools is the fact that their establishment derives from a claim for an education system separate from the mainstream one. In fact, the 1994 Education act codified the right of religious bodies to establish their schools and to have them officially recognised (Hewer, 2001). After the first Muslim school failed to secure public funding in the mid-1980s, others started to operate as voluntary community-supported institutions, thus actually becoming community schools whilst still claiming their role equated to mainstream education.

According to Hewer (2001), four main issues led to the creation of Muslim community schooling: 1) the desire for a separate religious education modelled on faith-based principles; 2) the need for specialised education to train potential future religious leaders; 3) the perceived urgency for single-sex education for girls; and, 4) the desire to improve the educational achievement of Muslim pupils.

The idea of "safety" surfaces in the literature on Afro-Caribbean community schooling (Reay & Mirza, 2000; Martin et al, 2006), as community schools were viewed as spaces separated from mainstream education. Within Muslim community schooling the concept of safety is not only related to safety from racism, but also to the importance of guaranteeing a separate education for female pupils.

Drawing on the experience of Muslim community schooling in Birmingham, Hewer's (2001) study looks at emerging themes and issues and, particularly, at the relationship between religious and public-funded education. The study discusses three key issues: 1) the professional identity of teachers and their

roles; 2) the curriculum and the need for the whole of education to be constructed within an integrated faith-centred system; and, 3) issues of affirmation or fragmentation of identity. Hewer (2001) argues that the first two issues and the need for a faith-centred educational system shaped both the roles of the teachers and the remits of the curriculum, challenging any idea of secular education. Although my study does not focus on the issue of religious versus secular education, nor on the curriculum, understanding the relationship between community schooling and the mainstream education system is important in the context of this study.

Miller's (2001) study on Jewish full-time schooling considers similar issues in terms of educational separateness of education. Jewish schools are defined as having a role in addressing assimilation-related challenges of isolation, given that, in an increasingly multicultural society, the Jewish community faces problems of separation from the wider community (Miller, 2001).

These two studies point to the importance of community schooling in supporting pupils' constructions of identity and sense of belonging to the community of the school. Overall, the phenomenon of faith community schooling emerged from a need and desire to support the religious distinctiveness of the communities out of which they originated (Hewer, 2001; Miller, 2001). The research also suggests an idea of community based on a common religion, and to some extent, language (i.e., Hebrew and Arabic) rather than on ethnicity and nationality (Hewer, 2001).

2.1.3 Community language schools: Language practices and literacy

The current study focuses on community language schools. This category embraces all the schools set up by particular migrant communities to maintain and transmit their languages and cultural heritage to the younger generations (Li & Wu, 2008; Archer et al., 2010).

I next review two studies on community language schooling in the UK and identify the issues that arise from this research, prior to reviewing the literature on Chinese language community schooling in 2.1.4.

The first study draws on the personal experience of a Bangladeshi teacher and provides an insight into Bengali teaching practice and issues (Khan & Kabir, 1999). Teaching practices are deconstructed through an analysis of teaching materials and especially how children themselves relate to the textbooks. The school's teaching materials were found to focus on the daily reality of Bangladeshi life and adopted content and visual support used in mainstream schools in Bangladesh. The UK pupils, however, perceived these as alien and even confusing (Khan & Kabir, 1999). By presenting the focus of Bangladeshi community schooling as cultural maintenance, the authors' first finding highlights the problem of how culture is constructed in the context of community schooling. However, the study does not explicitly explore how the pupils construct their own version of Bangladeshi culture; neither does it consider identity positions as resulting from their involvement in the schools. The second part of the research explores reasons for attending Bangladeshi language community schools from the perspective of both pupils and adults. Parental pressure, along with the need to communicate with family and friends, motivated the majority of pupils to attend. Affiliation with Bangladeshi culture and identity emerged as the adults' primary motivators. Although the research shows that the pupils placed a low value on Bangladeshi language and culture, resulting also in a low consideration of the teachers themselves, reasons for this lack of value are not investigated. Rather, they are presented through a strong emotional internal dimension and a teacher-researcher-centred perspective. Nevertheless, this study helped to inform the focus of my research in terms of issues around cultural representation and affiliation and how children and adults construct the role of these schools in their lives.

The second piece of research draws on an ethnographic project on Somali literacy teaching in Liverpool that involved 10 female pupils attending a small language school and which, through interviews and questionnaires, incorporates the perspectives of other community members (Arthur, 2003). The study aims to explore the role of language and literacy within the school and the wider community. Two main findings emerge from the study and relate to: 1) bilingualism within British-Somali community schooling in terms of asymmetry of language choices; and, 2) Somali oracy and literacy in terms of

emotional construction of the language. The first finding reveals an asymmetric use of languages in the classrooms where pupils preferred English and teachers Somali. Such asymmetry in the language practices of teachers and pupils recalls the discussion of Martin et al. (2006) on language practices within community schooling. In fact, in both cases, languages are juxtaposed rather than compartmentalised and pupils and teachers adopt language switching as a strategy to better accomplish learning and teaching. Arthur's (2003) second finding stresses that both the interview and questionnaire evidence reported a shared desire and motivation to learn written and spoken Somali. Besides a pragmatic use of the language for communicative reasons, pupils attributed a high, affective value to the language, which they constructed as a marker of Somali identity. The issue of literacy is important for the Somali communities as Somali script and mass literacy programmes were introduced only in 1972. Consequently, a significant portion of the Somali population, including migrant communities, currently face serious literacy issues. Moreover, within Islamic value systems where written fonts are highly considered, the recent written origin and little written tradition of Somali expose the language and the community itself to issues of marginalisation (Arthur, 2003).

Drawing on the work of Arthur (2003), the second part of this chapter explores the relationship between language and identity, because literacy-related issues are particularly relevant in the case of Chinese community schooling and will be examined as part of my study. As Li (1993) argues, the written language is a shared symbol of traditional culture and any reduction or loss in literacy skills assumes a particular social significance for Chinese community members. In China, the written language has played a unifying role for thousands of years and despite the controversies related to the adoption of a simplified character system in the PRC to make literacy more attainable, the written language gives a sense of historical continuity to Chinese people all over the world (Sabattini & Santangelo, 2005; Wiley, 2001).

In conclusion, community schools, including Afro-Caribbean, faith, and language schools, have been part of a major sociopolitical and educational movement in the UK for over half a century. On the one hand, the schools represent an

important resource for the communities who run them by providing a space for young people, parents, and teachers to network and to support positive student learner identities (Creese & Blackledge, 2012). On the other hand, the schools have been successful in raising the profile of educational achievement, equality, and social justice issues in British education through their fundamental belief in multiculturalism and multilingualism (Li, 2006).

A number of key themes emerged from the extant literature and informed the direction of this study. These include: the social, political and educational role of the schools; the role of language and multilingual practices in the schools; the negotiation and fluidity of identity within the schools; constructions of culture in the agenda of the schools and in the views of pupils, parents, and educators; and, the educational and social value of literacy. The next section reviews previous studies on Chinese community schooling in the UK.

2.1.4 Chinese community schooling in the UK

In the introduction to this study I presented the historical, social, political, and educational context of Chinese community schooling in the UK. The literature has paid particular attention to the shift from Cantonese to Mandarin schools as reflecting not only the new demographics of the Chinese population in the UK, but also the increased social and economic value of Mandarin as the official language of the PRC (Mau et al., 2009).

Chinese community schools run their classes over the weekend using premises rented from mainstream schools or colleges. The schools often have limited resources, as they rely on fees and donations from parents and other members of the community (Francis et al., 2008). The main classes are dedicated to language teaching and they usually run for 2-3 hours with children often being grouped by proficiency rather than age (Ganassin, in press). In addition, schools generally offer pupils and adults classes centred on Chinese culture (e.g., Chinese dance and painting, calligraphy, martial arts) (Wang, in press).

In order to address the paucity of literature on Chinese community schools from the perspectives of those involved with them, the Economic and Social Research Council launched a study of six Chinese (particularly Cantonese)

community schools (presented in Francis et al., 2008; Francis et al., 2009; Francis et al., 2010; Archer, Francis, & Mau, 2010). The ESRC study explores how 60 pupils, 21 teachers, and 24 parents constructed the purposes and benefits of Cantonese Chinese community schooling. Additionally, the schools' linguistic and cultural maintenance agendas and participants' experiences were used to tease out how discourses on culture, language, and identity are deployed, resisted, and reworked in the context of the schools (Archer et al., 2010).

The first set of findings reveal how pupils, teachers, and school staff understand the role and importance of Chinese community schooling in their lives, particularly in relation to the focus of the schools on Chinese language and culture. The findings show that the overwhelming majority of pupils considered perpetuating the Chinese language to be the schools' main aim. The benefits of perpetuating the language fall under two themes: instrumental benefits and identity. Instrumental benefits suggest a construction of language as capital that is useful for communication with parents and relatives at home and in China. Learning Chinese was also seen as an additional credential for the pupils' future careers.

The second set of benefits relate to language and identity. Pupils saw speaking Cantonese as both a marker of Chinese identity and a moral obligation to be part of a Chinese in-group, something which was described in highly charged language evoking a feeling of "shame/pride, exclusion/inclusion" (Francis et al. 2009, p. 529). Finally, a number of pupils valued the fact that the schools provide a Chinese space and facilitate friendships with children from a shared Chinese background.

Furthermore, the research explores how pupils and adults perceive community schooling's aim and institutional focus on cultural-linguistic maintenance. The findings reveal a strong contrast between the role that children and adults attribute to community language schooling. While pupils thought the schooling's key purpose was to teach the Chinese language, they did not mention any relationship between language and culture. Adults, however, were equally concerned with language learning and replication of Chinese culture

(Francis et al., 2008; 2009) through the transmission of moral discourses (i.e., moral duty to behave in a Chinese way).

Adults also focused on the importance of the schools' role in promoting a sense of Chinese identity to counterbalance a perceived risk of 'westernisation'. Exploring discourses on culture and identity within the schools, Archer et al. (2010) argue that, ideologically, community schools can be seen as an attempt "to counter and challenge the power of dominant western/British 'culture' on the second generation through the location of authenticity within Chinese culture/identity" (p. 414). Parents and teachers' understandings of Chinese culture are presented through the schools' agenda of cultural preservation. Participants configured culture through fixed and homogenised discourses centring on particular elements (e.g., festivals, food, arts). Teaching materials played a fundamental role in supporting such discourses and were defined as "powerful authorising agents, written from particular perspectives and institutionalising particular dominant versions of 'culture'" (Archer et al., 2010, p. 412).

The objectification of Chinese culture through cultural practices and symbols presented in Archer et al.'s (2010) study is discussed in the literature on Chinese community schooling (Li & Wu, 2008) and more broadly in the literature on Chinese communities in the UK (i.e., Francis & Archer, 2005a, 2005b; Benton & Gomez, 2008). With its emphasis on family, interdependence, and conformity, this objectification of Chinese culture echoes what some scholars have termed vernacular Confucian culture (Chang, 2000). When discussing claims of cultural fixity made by parents and teachers, Archer et al. (2010) note that constructing Chinese culture as homogeneous and universal fails to appreciate the shifting and processual production and negotiation of culture. Archer et al. (2010) offered a number of cues for reflection that support the development of this research. First, it further explores pupils', parents', and teachers' understandings of the aim and focus of Chinese community schooling. Secondly, it compares and contrasts how those involved construct Chinese language and culture from their own perspectives, because these constructions are central in the schools' agendas.

Discussing how language is reworked in the context of community schooling, Francis et al. (2008) argue that pupils perceived fluency in Cantonese-Chinese as having a strong hold on both their experiences and understanding of identity. Drawing on the agenda of the schools on language maintenance, I seek to explore how pupils, parents, and teachers understand the relationship between language, culture, and identity, and how their narratives compare or contrast.

Whilst Francis et al.'s (2008) project studies the interaction between language, identity, and the experience of pupils, parents, and teachers within Chinese schools, other studies focus on teaching and language practice within Chinese community schooling as a means of discussing notions of language, culture, and identity (Wu, 2006; Creese et al., 2007; Li & Wu, 2008).

Wu's (2006) two-stage study on language choices within Chinese community schools centres on the culture of learning such schools foster. In stage one, teachers and students at 95 community schools across the UK completed a questionnaire survey about their general situation and activities. Stage two involved semistructured interviews with 14 teachers and one parent who had been identified during stage one. These participants were drawn from 10 schools in the North West, Greater London, and the Midlands; 10 classes in five schools in these areas were also observed. The study presents two main findings relating to its focus on the culture of learning and language choices: 1) the teachers, with their diverse backgrounds, play an important role in creating learning contexts and fostering learning cultures within the schools; 2) the schools as learning contexts are affected by "terms of address" and codified respect for the elders, particularly from the perspective of the children.

Culture is defined in the study as a set of norms, attitudes, values, and beliefs that participants rework in relation to British and Chinese culture (Wu, 2006). The study also suggests that culture and language are closely related in the context of community schooling. Language can be described as the means by which we organise our social lives and, as such, it allows us to act out our cultural values and information about the wider social system we are part of (Wu, 2006). Therefore, to be part of a Chinese social system, language ability is required.

As far as the value of Chinese language is concerned, Wu (2006) demonstrates that pupils not only saw language learning as important because it enabled them to communicate with their families and retain a sense of affiliation with their Chinese heritage, but also because they saw it as contributing to their own social capital.

Finally, the research defines the schools as safe spaces where identities are negotiated and discussed (see also Francis et al., 2008). Beyond their actual educational remit, community schools perform an important social function in bringing together young people from the same backgrounds, thus exercising, in a way, any experiences of minorisation they might face within mainstream schooling (Francis et al., 2008) and fostering a tangible sense of Chinese community through commonality of language (Archer et al., 2010).

The ESRC's "Investigating Multilingualism in Complementary Schools in Four Communities" project, which focused on language practice and pedagogic policies in different community schools including four Mandarin and Cantonese schools in the north of England (Creese et al., 2007; Li & Wu, 2008; Creese & Blackledge, 2010), offers a further perspective on Chinese community schooling.

Creese and Blackledge (2010) draw attention to the participants' use of a flexible bilingualism as pedagogic practice to make links "between the social, cultural, community, and linguistic domains of their lives" (p. 112). Echoing Creese and Blackledge (2010), my study seeks to explore the relationship between language and language practices as used by its participants in their constructions of identity. However, my study adopts a critical approach to the construction of bilingualism in the context of Chinese community schooling. Although the term bilingualism describes language fluidity and movement (Creese & Blackledge, 2010), it assumes the coexistence of two languages only: English and Chinese (Cantonese or Mandarin). However, others such as Archer et al. (2010) reveal that a range of languages are at play within Chinese community schooling and different languages make "competing claims to be the/a Chinese language" (p. 412). Thus, rather than endorsing notions of bilingualism, my study seeks to investigate language practices and

constructions of languages, and particularly Chinese language/s, from the perspectives of those involved in the schools.

Drawing on the same research project discussed by Creese and Blackledge (2010), Li and Wu (2008) focus on bilingualism and on the practice of code-switching to define how significant differences and hierarchies between languages and speaker groups are at play in the Chinese community schools. Adopting a framework that understands language teaching as a political act, as Chinese community schools are often charged with agendas aimed at promoting a sense of Chinese identity through language, my study responds to Li and Wu's (2008) call to provide a deeper understanding of the root of these differences and hierarchies and their ideological value (Ganassin, in press).

A number of themes and issues which emerged from reviewing the literature on Chinese community schooling in the UK shaped the direction of this study.

First, the literature suggests that adults and children construct the aim and focus of Chinese community schooling differently. Whilst children focus on language as capital and as a marker of Chinese affiliation, adults tend to make explicit a relationship between language, replication of culture, and a sense of Chinese identity (Francis et al., 2008, 2009). These contrasting understandings of the role of Chinese community schooling alerted me to the need to analyse these differences in relation to the schools' approaches to maintaining language and culture.

Furthermore, studies such as Creese and Blackledge (2007) and Li and Wu (2007) explore a range of language practices within Chinese community schooling and highlight how bilingualism and code-switching are not only used as pedagogic strategies but also reflect hierarchies of languages and speaker groups. Drawing on the importance of language practices in the schools, this study aims to further explore the role of different languages in the schools and the ideologies that are at play.

Finally, concepts of Chinese language, culture, and identity emerged as fundamental to understanding the phenomenon of community schooling. Hence,

prior to presenting the research questions, the next sections discuss how such concepts are understood in this study.

2.2 Theoretical underpinnings: Language, culture, and identity

This study adopts three theoretical underpinnings in its exploration of the significance of the phenomenon of Chinese community schooling for those involved in it. These are: language, culture, and identity. These concepts emerged from the literature review as important in defining the ideologies of the schools and how such ideologies have been interpreted, contested, and reconstructed by pupils and adults. For the purpose of this study, I follow Berger and Luckmann (1966, 1979) who adopt a social constructionist perspective to defining ideology as a system of ideas which drives behavioural choices. In this perspective, as suggested by Holliday (2010b), ideology becomes “a driving force” and it informs participants’ understanding of the phenomenon (p. 261).

The next parts of the chapter deal with the following three areas: the importance of Chinese language and language practices in this study (2.3); the intercultural approach informed by Holliday’s (2013) ‘grammar of culture’ that this study employs (2.4); and, finally, the theorisation of identity as a social construct (2.5).

2.3 Chinese language and language practices

This section examines the concept of language as a construction in relation to themes that emerged from the reviewed literature on community schooling (i.e., Chinese heritage language, language practices, language as an identity marker).

First, I conceptualise Chinese as a heritage language (CHL) and discuss its relevance to this study (2.3.1). Then, I discuss how language can represent a marker of identity and review the concept of native speakerism (2.3.2). Finally, I discuss how an ecological perspective and the concept of translanguaging are used in this study to investigate classroom language practices (2.3.3).

2.3.1 Chinese as a heritage language (CHL)

The definition of Chinese, and in particular Mandarin Chinese, community schools as heritage language schools (e.g. Li & Wu, 2008) is contentious, as it is

predicated on an assumption that these pupils are all heritage language learners/speakers of Mandarin. Terming Chinese a heritage language (CHL) is also problematic, as that definition fails to take account of linguistic diversity and language minority status (Ganassin, in press). For this reason, Abbiati (1996) favours the idea of a common CHL constructed on the shared correspondence between all the spoken varieties or 方言 *fāngyán* (i.e., Cantonese, Hakka) to one written standard (i.e., simplified characters).

In order to critique the CHL construct, I draw on Valdés' (2001, p. 38) definition of a heritage language (HL) as the language of a student who is raised in a home where a non-English target language is spoken. HL learners speak, or at least understand, the language and they have some degree of bilingualism or multilingualism. Furthermore, learners see their HL as having a "particular family relevance" (Fishman, 2001, p. 169) and emotional value.

According to Campbell (2000), HL speakers typically have the following attributes:

- Native pronunciation and fluency
- Command of between 80% and 90% of the syntactic structures
- Extensive vocabulary
- Familiarity with implicit cultural norms essential for language rules.

At the same time, HL speakers also have some typical gaps in their knowledge:

- Lack of formal registers in the language
- Poor literacy
- Nonstandard variety.

However, the definition of CHL presents a number of issues and partially contradicts Campbell's definition. In their critiques of Campbell's theorisation of HL, Li, and Duff (2008) discuss why his model is only partially applicable to CHL; for instance, Cantonese speakers are unlikely to have a native pronunciation and often might not even understand Mandarin.

In fact, the ‘Chinese language’ is not a monolithic entity; rather, it is an umbrella term subsuming at least seven (Abbiati, 1996; He, 2008) or eight mutually unintelligible varieties (Hua & Li, 2014) “based on historical connections and geographical distribution” (p. 328). Although 普通话 *pǔtōnghuà*—which in Chinese means ‘common speech’—is the official language of the PRC (Jin & Dervin, in press), there are at least six other major 方言 *fāngyán* (varieties or dialects) of Chinese classified along geographical and linguistic-structural characteristics; they are: *Wu*, *Gan*, *Xiang*, *Min*, *Kejia* (Hakka), and *Yue* (Cantonese) (Abbiati, 1996). Elsewhere, such dialects would be recognised as distinct languages in their own right, albeit with significant influence from 普通话 *pǔtōnghuà*, which itself exists with variants such as that used in Sichuan (Jin & Dervin, in press).

In English language scholarly publications and public discourse, the term Mandarin is widely used as a more convenient synonym for 普通话 *pǔtōnghuà* when referring to the standard language spoken in China, Singapore, and Taiwan (where traditional characters are used). Following Zhu and Li (2014), I use the term Mandarin for consistency with the literature (e.g., He, 2008; Zhu & Li, 2014; Jin & Dervin, in press) and because that is the English term used in the agenda and governing documents of my research sites.

However, it is important to signal the historical and ideological differences between Mandarin and 普通话 *pǔtōnghuà* in defining the standard variety of Chinese language.

According to Zhu and Li (2014): “Mandarin is the English name for the northern variety of Chinese” (p. 328). Historically, the term Mandarin was coined in the eighteenth century by Europeans, and in particular Portuguese, to refer to 官話 *guānhuà*, the language spoken at the Chinese imperial court and by the higher civil servants and military officers of the imperial regime (Sabattini & Santangelo, 2005).

In English, the term Mandarin is widely used to describe the standard variety of Chinese also spoken in Taiwan and Singapore (Zhu & Li, 2014). However, the official language used in the PRC (普通话 *pǔtōnghuà*), Taiwan (國語 *guóyǔ*

‘national language’) and Singapore (华语 *huáyǔ* literally ‘Chinese language’, the term also used in Malaysia) varies, for instance, in terms of phonetics and discourse norms (He, 2008).

The term 普通话 *pǔtōnghuà* is ideologically linked to the geopolitical entity of the PRC because, upon its establishment in 1949, the Chinese government chose it as the official national language (Jin & Dervin, in press). Structurally, 普通话 *pǔtōnghuà* is based on Mandarin, but retains some differences, as it is based on the pronunciation and vocabulary of the dialect of Beijing, and on the grammatical structures adopted in the literary production in 白話文 *báihuàwén*, a vernacular northern language originally used for drama and narrative production (Abbiati, 1996).

The idea of a common language is ideologically significant, as throughout the post-war and post-Liberation period it signified the political emphasis of the founders of the PRC (Jin & Dervin, in press). Nowadays, the term 普通话 *pǔtōnghuà* is adopted by the Confucius Institute and its Hanban branches to promote teaching and learning of Chinese language outside China. However, in publications and speeches, Hanban officials often use the term Mandarin in place of 普通话 *pǔtōnghuà* (Zhu & Li, 2014), thus contributing to a nuanced ideological distinction between the two terms. While this study uses the English term Mandarin to refer to the variety of Chinese taught and learnt in the schools studied, the terms 普通话 *pǔtōnghuà* and 國語 *guóyǔ* are employed when the context requires me to refer respectively to the geopolitical entities of China and Taiwan. Consequently, there is some overlapping of terminology in my study.

As far as the teaching of Mandarin-Chinese in community schooling is concerned, He (2008) suggests the existence of different scenarios in a typical CHL classroom such as: Mandarin is the learner’s home language; Mandarin is comprehensible in relation to the learner’s language; or Mandarin is unintelligible in relation to the learner’s home language. Chinese scripts can also be problematic, because simplified characters are used in Mainland China and Singapore and traditional characters are used in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and

Macao. Consequently, the script (i.e., traditional or simplified characters) used in the classroom and that at home may differ, or the learner may have no home literacy in Chinese.

Such a variety of learning scenarios contrasts with the idea of Mandarin community schools as a homogeneous group of CHL learners and it raises a number of questions around how Chinese speakers construct their CHL.

In summary, this section discussed why CHL is a problematic term. It also discussed how labelling a language as 'Chinese' creates a degree of ambiguity, as it refers to a variety of languages other than Mandarin that, despite the use of a unified writing system, are not necessarily mutually intelligible.

Considering the complexity of the scenario of CHL learning, this study aims to explore how Chinese language is constructed in both the agenda of the schools and in the views of pupils, parents, and teaching staff.

2.3.2 Language as identity marker and native speakerism

According to Francis et al.'s (2009) research on Chinese community schooling, gaining language proficiency gives pupils the ability to construct a sense of Chinese identity. Furthermore, in their studies on Cantonese community schools and their pupils (2005a, 2005b), they also show that pupils not only identified language as a key to bonding with their Chinese identities, but also grounded proficiency in the language with moral discourses around duty and social inclusion/exclusion. A lack of command of Chinese language implies, not only that one is not properly Chinese, but also that one is an outsider. Worse still, it can mean being seen as "disgraceful" and "embarrassing" in front of the family and the rest of the community (Francis et al., 2008). Others such as Wu (2006) and Archer et al. (2010) argue that language constitutes an identity marker, as it allows us to act out our cultural values and to seek affiliation with particular communities.

Researchers in the fields of applied and educational linguistics and intercultural communication also theorise that language can represent an important identity marker, and provide individuals with a sense of belonging to particular groups. The work on language and identity by Kramsch (1998), Creese and Blackledge

(2010), Zhu (2014), and Byram (2006) in particular, has, therefore, informed the theoretical framework of this study.

Blackledge and Creese (2010) argue that languages and identities are socially constructed. Although it is an oversimplification to consider languages as symbols of identity, researchers do need to take into account the fact that people might believe that languages can function as a salient feature of their identity.

Kramsch (1998) discusses the importance of language in relation to one's cultural identity, suggesting that "there is a natural connection between the language spoken by member of a social group and that's group's identity" (p. 65). She goes on to say that "although there is no one-to-one relationship between anyone's language and his or her cultural identity, language is *the* most sensitive indicator of the relationship between an individual and a given social group" (p. 77).

In arguing that language symbolises identities and is used to signal identity positions by speakers, Byram (2006) points out that "people are also categorised by other people according to the language they speak" (p. 5). As a result, in addition to being a marker of identity and cultural affiliation, languages carry within them constructions of hierarchies amongst groups. According to Heller (2007), "hierarchies (of languages) are not inherently linguistic, but rather social and political" (p. 2). For example, Zhu (2014) argues that "[f]luency in a heritage language is often used as a marker of the strength of one's orientation towards ethnicity of the community" (p. 205).

Furthermore, in the context of language learning and teaching provided by Chinese community schooling, the concept of native speakerism and the status of native speaker are helpful in understanding how hierarchies of languages and speakers are constructed.

Doerr (2009) outlines three ideological suppositions behind the "native speaker" concept; these are: its links to nation states; an assumption of a homogeneous linguistic group; and, an assumption of the complete competence of the "native speaker" in his or her "native language".

In relation to language teaching and acquisition, Holliday (2006) demonstrates how the ideological construction of the authentic native speaker teacher, as an authentic and, therefore, legitimate language teacher, is persistent and uncontested in education studies.

Benchmarks of authenticity and legitimacy are traditionally important in language teaching, as “they define the native speaker teacher as the possessor of the right cultural and linguistic attributes to represent the target speech community” (Creese, Blackledge, & Takhi, 2014, p. 938). Native speakership brings to its speakers a certain authority associated with authenticity and legitimacy of language use (Kramsch, 1998). Kramsch (2012) theorises that legitimacy and authenticity are related concepts and she argues “one entails the other as a legitimate speaker is assumed to be an authentic member of a group” (p. 490). However, whilst legitimacy depends on the sanction of an institution, authenticity requires a link to an identifiable origin and group membership and, as such, can be attributed or denied by group members.

As regards authenticity in language teaching being an outcome of constantly negotiated social practices rather than being a fixed status, Bucholtz (2003) proposes an alternative view of authentication. Authenticating practices, applied by different actors such as pupils, confer or deny authenticity to teachers both as native speakers and as educators. Finally, Gill (2011) argues that what it means to be an authentic speaker can be investigated in particular settings only (i.e., language classrooms) in terms of the contextual norms, the authenticating practices in place, and in relation to the agency by which authenticity is conferred or denied.

Although, in the context of language teaching, the notion of the native speaker retains a strong hold, sociolinguistic research has challenged the notion of the “idealised native speaker”. Rampton (1995), for instance, contests the definition of “native speaker expertise” as abstracted and problematic, and does not take into account how language and membership of social groups change over time. Furthermore, Creese et al. (2014) reveal that “what counts as the authenticity and legitimacy of the ‘native speaker’ teacher” (p. 2) can take a multiplicity of forms, as it is negotiated and determined by both teachers and pupils.

In this study, I seek to understand how concepts of native speakerism and the attribution of legitimacy and authenticity are used in the agenda of the schools and in the interactions between pupils, teachers, and parents. As far as the concept of authenticity is concerned, I follow Creese et al. (2014) and their call for researchers to “pay attention to how speakers use the notion of authenticity, to what ideological ends, [and] through which authenticating practices” (p. 939).

The next section concludes the theoretical discussion of how language practices in the classrooms—and, in particular, translanguaging practices—can represent a resource for identity performance.

2.3.3 Language practices and classroom language ecologies

As the literature shows, language community schools are not only educational, but also a sociopolitical context in which language policies and choices are ideologically charged and reflected in the classroom practices (i.e., Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Li & Wu, 2008). According to Li and Wu (2008), classroom language practices in the Chinese community schooling context tend towards what is termed a “(Mandarin) Chinese only policy”. Although such a policy is also often enforced by the teachers’ practices, the reality of the classrooms results in a more complex use of languages such as bilingual (Li & Wu, 2008; Creese et al., 2008) or multilingual practices (Creese et al., 2007).

In this study, I seek to explore how languages are used in the schools, and in particular in the classrooms, both as a pedagogic strategy and as a resource for identity performance. Following van Lier (2004) and Blackledge and Creese (2010), I undertake an ecological approach which focuses on the multilayered nature of classroom interaction to investigate the complexity of language practices in the Mandarin-Chinese classrooms.

Drawing ideas from the domain of natural sciences, van Lier (2004) theorises the idea of an ecological approach to language. Taking a sociocultural perspective, ecological linguistics “focuses on language as relations between people and the world, and on language learning as ways of relating more effectively to people and the world” (p. 4). Language ecology enables the researcher to investigate the multilayered relationships and interactions among

elements in a learning and teaching environment (van Lier, 2004). Furthermore, according to Creese and Blackledge (2010), “the language ecology metaphor offers a way of studying the interactional order to explore how social ideologies, particularly in relation to multilingualism, are created and implemented” (p. 104).

For Van Lier (2004), ecological learning has two key concepts: emergency and affordance. Emergency can be understood as the ability of learners to adapt to and reorganise themselves in response to changing conditions around them. Affordances are relationships of possibility between learners and the environment. They signal both what the environment (e.g., language classroom) offers to the learners and how they respond to it.

In investigating their complexity, this study endorses the view of community school classrooms as ecological language microsystems (Blackledge & Creese, 2010). Following van Lier (2004, 2012) and Creese and Blackledge (2010), I adopt an ecological approach to teaching and learning contexts to investigate how not just language but also culture and identity are negotiated in interaction between those involved in the schools. As far as the investigation of language practices is concerned, I adopt the concept of translanguaging as an alternative to code-switching. The reasons for this choice are presented as I review the two terms. However, the fact that translanguaging focuses on speakers rather than on languages, and that it goes beyond code-switching while also incorporating it (Creese & Blackledge, 2015) were key factors that informed my choice.

The concept of code-switching is established in socio- and applied linguistics and widely adopted in studies on community schooling to refer to a mixing of languages in the same utterance and alternation between languages in conversation, according to experience, environment, and communicative purposes (Li & Wu, 2008). The literature defines code-switching both as a pedagogic strategy and as an important identity marker for bilingual people (Martin et al., 2006; Li & Wu, 2008). However, the concept of code-switching presents some limitations. For example, it implies a diglossic functional separation between languages and in contrast to translanguaging does not account for flexibility of learning through two or more languages (Creese &

Blackledge, 2015). García and Li (2014) also argue translanguaging is a different and more complex concept than code-switching. Translanguaging does not simply refer to a functional shift between two languages; rather, it focuses on the speakers and how they construct languages whose practices cannot be rigidly assigned to a specific definition of language whose rules it transcends.

According to Lewis, Jones, and Baker (2012), the distinction between code-switching and translanguaging is also ideological, as “[p]articularly in the bilingual classroom, translanguaging as a concept tries to move acceptable practice away from language separation, and thus has ideological—even political—associations” (p. 665). More recent studies (e.g., Blackledge & Creese, 2010, 2015) prefer the term translanguaging to define a site where language happens and it is creatively reinvented by people who have the ability to do so. According to Creese and Blackledge (2010) translanguaging can be used both as a pedagogic strategy and as a resource for identity performance. They also define translanguaging as an ideological orientation towards classroom pedagogies, as it focuses on ongoing practices and processes.

For the purpose of this study, I follow García and Li’s (2014) definition of translanguaging as the “flexibility of bilingual learners to take control of their own learning, to self-regulate when and how to language, depending on the context in which they’re being asked to perform” (p. 80). As they use languages in a flexible and noncompartmentalised way, multilingual speakers also merge their values (Canagarajah, 2013). Furthermore, as people move between languages and they draw on their full linguistic repertoires, they also cross the socially and politically defined boundaries of named, and usually national and state, languages (García, Otheguy, & Reid, 2015).

Finally, in understanding the classroom language practices, I draw on Canagarajah’s (2013) conceptualisation of performative competence. For Canagarajah (2013), performative competence is the ability of translingual speakers—and, in particular, learners—to use their language resources strategically. Being practice-based, performative competence requires creativity, strategic thinking, alertness, and learners’ ability to respond to the context.

The conceptualisation of translanguaging as deployment of one's full linguistic repertoire, where speakers draw creatively and strategically on their resources transcending boundaries of languages, is important in this study, as it allows me to capture complexity in interaction between speakers (i.e., pupils and teachers) (García & Li, 2014) and to investigate how language and identity are socially constructed and negotiated in the context of the community schools.

2.4 An intercultural approach to culture

As discussed in this chapter's previous sections, community language schools, including Chinese ones, not only play a pivotal role in transmitting migrant groups' languages, but also retain a key role in transmitting the cultures of those groups (Creese et al., 2006; Martin et al., 2006; Archer et al., 2010; Wu, 2008; Francis et al., 2009, 2010; Archer et al., 2010). Thus, the second theoretical standpoint of this study concerns the definition of "culture", including the understanding of Chinese culture that underpins this study.

From a theoretical point of view, culture is a contested and problematic term. Although there are many definitions of culture, the term should be dealt with critically and not treated as if it constitutes a static meaning of its own (Dervin, 2013).

This study understands culture within the fields of intercultural education and communication. In describing my understanding of culture, I undertake an interpretive social constructionist approach which appreciates culture as socially constructed, fluid, and negotiable. For Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), culture is the expression of meanings, values, and behaviours retaining and intrinsic dimension of fluidity (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004) and, as Holmes, Bavieri, and Ganassin (2015) note, "as individuals engage in meaningful practices (of communication) which engage people of multiple identities, culture becomes shaped and reshaped" (p. 18).

As individuals engage with others, they can associate with many cultural realities, creating meanings constituted by a variety of layered factors (e.g., religion, class, family, education, profession, ancestry, and language) which provide framings for identity formation (Holliday, 2010a). Shared meanings,

beliefs, and behaviours can be constructed and negotiated within and across cultural groups. However, the ultimate choice to identify with them lies with the individuals (Dervin, 2013).

2.4.1 Chinese culture in the literature and in this study

Pavlenko and Blackledge's (2004) definition of culture as the expression of meaning, values, and behaviours that are never stable and always changing and evolving contrasts with the fixed discourses on culture which recur in the literature on Chinese community schooling.

As Francis et al. (2009) point out in their work on pupils in Chinese community schooling, "the purchase of dominant discourses on 'culture' is evident in some of the literature on complementary schooling, where 'culture' is often presented as a 'real' entity, and the benefits of its maintenance expounded without further reflection" (p. 521). In contrast, this study seeks to adopt a theoretical and methodological framework that is able to capture the fluid, subjective, and construed nature of culture, that is, an intercultural approach to Chinese culture.

However, pinning down the concept of 'Chinese culture' presents risks of essentialisation. For example, studies on the Chinese communities in the UK have used the concept of Confucian culture to symbolise a pan-Chinese culture founded on particular societal views and values (i.e., respect for elderly and parents) (Chang, 2000; Archer et al., 2007).

In chapter 1, I explained that I view China as a civilisation that, despite its complex history, has maintained a sense of continuity and provided Chinese people (see discussion in 1.5.2) with a sense of belonging and affiliation that transcends the limits of the two political entities of the PRC (China) and the ROC (Taiwan). Viewing China as a civilisation also informs my understanding of Chinese culture as a construct that is not necessarily related to affiliation with any particular geopolitical entity.

Instead, as Jin (2016) argues, "when researching or studying China, the country should be thought of as a cultural continent, not dissimilar to Europe, because the current geopolitical space that is the PRC is so vast and culturally varied" (p. 2). It is this sense of cultural diversity and complexity that this study seeks to

capture by exploring how Chinese community schooling provides pupils and adults with a space to construct and negotiate their understandings of Chinese culture.

In the next section, I explain how Holliday's 'grammar of culture' and his paradigmatic theorisation of small and large cultures serve the purpose of this study.

2.4.2 Holliday's 'grammar of culture'

In this study, my understanding and analysis of participants' constructions of culture are informed by the work of Holliday (1999, 2010a, 2010b, 2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2016), and predicated on "an interpretive constructivist approach [that] appreciates the uncertain, subjective and constructed nature of culture" (2016, p. 24).

A review of the literature reveals that community schools often use fixed discourses of culture as a real entity transmitted through teaching and extra activities (i.e., calligraphy, dance, and music) to "signify Chinese culture to both Chinese and western audiences" (Francis et al. 2010, p. 520). Such pedagogies of culture resonate with approaches to language teaching that reify culture as knowledge of facts, food, festivals, and flags that—as critiqued by scholars such as Byram (1997)—present risks of essentialisation.

In contrast, Holliday's 'grammar of culture' (2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2016), and his large and small culture paradigm (1999) capture the dynamic and negotiable nature of culture in line with the theoretical framework of this study.

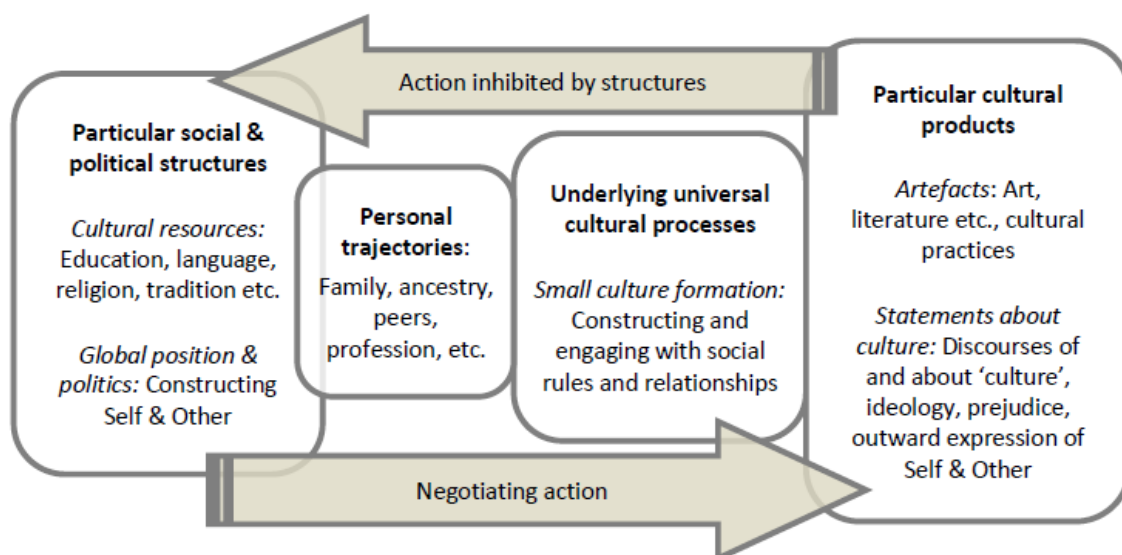


Figure 2.1 From: “Studying Culture,” by A. Holliday, in H. Zhu (Ed.), 2016, *Research Methods in Intercultural Communication: A Practical Guide*, p. 24.

The ‘grammar of culture’ derives from Holliday’s (2011a) interpretation of Weber’s social action model. Constructed as an imaginary map to read intercultural events, the grammar is represented by different domains in conversation (Holliday, 2011a). It comprises four domains in loose conversation. These are: particular social and political structures; personal trajectories; underlying universal cultural processes; and, particular cultural products.

The grammar focuses on the relationships and interactions between structures and products—indicated on the left and the right of the map—“both mediated by politics and ideology, and the way that individuals construct meaning as they build their lives” (Holliday, 2016, p. 25).

Particular social and political structures

On the left of the grammar, Holliday locates those structures that “form us and make us different from each other” such as education, language, and religion (2016, p. 24). This domain also captures a set of possible resources that individuals draw on to make sense of the reality around them when they encounter unfamiliar cultural environments. As it refers to the society where

we were brought up, the first domain resonates ideas of ‘our culture’, or national culture (Holliday, 2016).

Personal trajectories

The domain of personal trajectories captures “the individual’s personal travel through society, bringing histories from their ancestors and origins” (Holliday, 2016, p. 27). As far as the research process is concerned, the exploration of participants’ narratives of these personal trajectories enables the individual to cross the boundary with underlying universal cultural processes and to focus, instead, on the richness of their accounts of culture.

Underlying universal cultural processes and small culture formation

Located at the centre of the grammar, these processes are universally shared and transcend the boundaries between different cultural locations. Holliday (2011b) argues that these processes come into operation in the area of small culture formation. He uses the notion of ‘small culture’ to describe “small social groupings or activities wherever there is cohesive behaviour” (1999, p. 237). A small culture paradigm stands in contrast to a large culture paradigm. Focused on notions of nation, centre, and periphery, according to Holliday (1999), a large culture approach to culture presents the risk of “culturist ethnic, national or international stereotyping” (p. 237).

The large and small culture paradigms, and related to each other as large cultures, are reified small cultures. However, in the study of culture, Holliday (1999) advocates a ‘small culture approach’ which enables exploration of the ways in which people make sense of and operate under particular, changing circumstances.

As far as the research process is concerned, Holliday (2016) argues that research in this area needs to focus on how participants use building blocks to form the ‘small culture’ where they operate in changing circumstances and seek to “make sense of and operate meaningfully in those circumstances” (Holliday, 1999, p. 248)

Particular cultural products

The last domain concerns particular cultural products. These are the outcome of particular cultural activities that individuals use to configure culture. The domain comprises two types of artefacts (e.g., art, literature) and statements about culture (e.g., discourses of and about culture). As far as the research process is concerned, at the core of this domain is the exploration of participants' statements about culture, that is, why and how they choose to say particular things about 'their culture' (Holliday, 2016). Rather than taking individuals' statements about culture at face value, or establishing whether or not they are true, Holliday (2016) encourages researchers to investigate what lies behind these statements and how participants use them to perform particular identities.

In summary, the 'grammar of culture' not only captures the fluid nature of culture, but it rests on the belief that culture is socially constructed by different people, at different times, and in different contexts. Individuals can associate with many cultural realities, creating meanings constituted by a variety of layered factors such as religion, class, family, education, profession, ancestry, and language which provide framings for identity formation (Holliday, 2010a). Moreover, people can subscribe to different, and sometimes even conflicting and competing, discourses of culture (Holliday, 2013).

I chose the 'grammar of culture' to guide this study because it does not aim to pin down notions of culture, but rather suggests a framework for understanding how discourses of and about culture are represented. By drawing on this framework, I intend to investigate how pupils, parents, and school staff present and coconstruct the culture they are claiming to represent, and why they bring certain characteristics into play when interacting with others (Holliday, 2010a, p. 187).

Finally, the grammar of culture does not merely represent a theoretical framework through which to understand culture from an intercultural perspective. It also signals what needs to be researched when investigating 'culture', and in so doing also provides a methodological framework. Thus, the

'grammar of culture' informs this study both from a theoretical and methodological perspective.

2.4.3 Language and culture

A further area of interest for this study is the relationship between language and culture. Discussing the relationship between language and culture, Kramsch (1998) identifies three ways in which they are bound together. First, language expresses cultural reality (Language acts not only as a means for people to express facts and ideas but also their attitudes.). Second, language embodies cultural reality (People give meaning to their experience through communication; through language, they also create experience and meanings understandable to the group they are part of.). Third, language symbolises cultural reality (People view their language as a symbol of their social identity.).

Furthermore, in a social constructionist perspective language can be understood as a set of ideologically defined resources and practices (Heller, 2007). Such resources and practices are negotiated in social rhetoric and discursive spaces whose meanings and value are socially constructed and contextual in that they contribute to defining language as a social phenomenon.

Holliday (2010a, 2013) believes language plays a part in people's identity formation as part of their cultural reality. For Holliday (2010a), cultural reality surrounds individuals with broad cultural meanings and is constituted by a variety of layered factors such as religion, class, family, education, profession, ancestry, and language. Given that individuals can associate with many cultural realities simultaneously, language assumes a multitude of meanings. It is, therefore, possible for it to be not only a cultural reality but also many things such as a cultural marker, artefact, a cultural arena, and the location of a cultural universe (Holliday, 2010b).

Li (1993), Francis et al. (2008), and Archer et al. (2010) show that in the context of Chinese community schooling, language, as suggested by Holliday's work (2010a) on cultural identity, acts as a marker of cultural reality and is a player in determining cultural identity itself. Furthermore, Wu (2006), Francis et al. (2008), and Archer et al. (2010) all show that pupils within community

schooling seek and wish for an affiliation with Chinese culture and identity mainly through language maintenance, while Creese et al. (2007) demonstrate how language and culture are socially constructed in the context of community schooling.

Problematising the relationship between language and culture forms the theoretical underpinning of this study. Thus, it focuses on how pupils, parents, and teachers understand language and culture. Furthermore, this study seeks to explore how constructions of language and culture, and their wider experience of community schooling, contribute towards pupils' understandings of their own identity.

2.5 Approach to identity

This section centres on the approach to identity that this study takes to discussing how Chinese identity may be constructed, reconstructed, negotiated, and contested in the context of Mandarin Chinese community schooling.

First, I review how social and cultural identity have been theorised in the literature (2.5.1). Next, I discuss how identity as a social construct is understood in this study vis-à-vis concepts of cultural and social identity (2.5.2). Finally, I outline how the concept of “authenticity” in identity is important in this study (2.5.3).

2.5.1 Theorisation of social and cultural identity

Psychological research has widely problematised how we might theorise and understand notions of identity and its relationship with culture and language. The paradigms of social and cultural identity theory represent two approaches that seek to understand how identity is constructed through the relationships that individuals establish with the world around them. Although the two paradigms briefly reviewed here present a number of overlaps, they both contribute towards the understanding of the issue of identity in this study.

Tajfel (1981) describes social identity as “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that group membership” (p. 255). Social identity theory (SIT) draws on the premise

that an individual's social identity derives from perceived membership of a certain group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Such membership, according to SIT, translates into the need for a positive social identity as generated by favourable comparisons between in-group and relevant out-groups (Brown, 2000) and generated through an ongoing categorisation of self and other in order to establish points of differentiation (Oaks, Haslam, & Turner 1994).

A possible application of the concept of social identity and SIT to the context of Chinese community schooling is confirmed by community-based research (Francis et al, 2008; Archer et al., 2000) which reports a strong sense of exclusion/inclusion and shame/pride related to British-born Chinese children's lack of, or fluency in, Chinese.

Whilst social identity focuses on the idea of membership and affiliation with particular social groups (e.g., groups based on gender) as a resource for claiming self-identity, cultural identity is negotiated on the basis of shared history, contexts, and cultures (Hall, 1990).

Cultural identity theory (CIT) represents one approach to cultural identity. It draws on the premise that individuals use communicative processes to construct their cultural group identities and relationships in particular contexts (Chen & Collier, 2012). Although CIT considers both fixed (race, ethnicity) and fluid (social and economic status) components of identity, it recognises that all these aspects are apt to change and be negotiated over time. Hence, cultural identity is dynamic and fluid not only because it is constituted in interaction, but also because it has an enduring quality that is transmitted from generation to generation, or from cultural group member to newcomer (Chen & Collier, 2012).

An element of endurance is evident in some of the literature on Chinese communities and Chinese community schooling (Francis et al., 2010). This element tends to define Chinese culture as a real entity in line with positivistic discourses and, as such, determines Chinese identity.

Overall, concepts of social and cultural identity are problematic, as they risk being used to fix particular categories (e.g., ethnicity, culture, social groups). In

particular, the concept of cultural identity is contentious, as associating concepts of culture and identity “makes the concept a contended one, as the two words are polysemic, slippery and ‘illusory’” (Dervin, 2012, p. 181). Such concepts are even more problematic when they are played out within migrant communities where a complex range of cultural and identity positions is performed and negotiated (Archer et al., 2010).

In order to lessen the limitations in both paradigms, this study takes into account theories from both perspectives, as doing so enables it to focus on the relationships between individuals and particular groups in the discussion of identity constructions.

2.5.2 Identity in this study: Fluidity and multiplicity

Working from the perspective of social constructionism, this study endorses the dynamic and multiple nature of identity developed over time. In his work on cultural identity and diaspora, Hall (1990) claims that (cultural) “identity is not an essence but a ‘positioning’” (p. 226). Shaped by forces of history, contexts, and cultures, identity positions are not just multifaceted and dynamic, but also contradictory and problematic and they need to be considered as emergent rather than fixed (Hall, 1990).

Thus, it is important to acknowledge that processes of identification through which we project ourselves into our identities have become more open-ended, variable, and problematic. As Hall (2006) claims, “within us, we have contradictory identities pulling in different directions, so that our identifications are continuously being shifted about” (p. 251).

Furthermore, individual narrations play a key role in supporting the construction and negotiation of identity (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004), as, in the context of a multicultural society, group membership is complicated and boundaries between social groups difficult to define (Kramsch, 1998).

In arguing that identities can be multiple and overlapping, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) discuss three different types of identities: imposed identities, assumed identities, and negotiable identities.

As regards imposed identities, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) cite the example of the Jewish identity imposed on many Jews in Nazi Germany, as they were classified as Jewish, persecuted, and exterminated without any consideration of how these people felt about their identity. Assumed identities are assigned and usually accepted, and not negotiated or contested. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) use the assumption that British people need to be able to speak English in order to be considered British as one example of assumed identity. Finally, negotiable identities are negotiated and contested in interaction by groups and individuals and include, for example, religious and political affiliation, sexuality, and ethnicity as fluid categories.

In light of the discussion in this section, pupils' and adults' subjective constructions of identity are central in this research that focuses on processes of identification to explore how and why those involved in the schools negotiate their own identities whilst attributing, and contesting identities, to others.

2.5.3 Authenticity and identity

"Authenticity" emerges in the literature on Chinese community schooling (Mau et al., 2009; Archer et al., 2010) as identity issue, and in relation to Chinese migrant communities in the UK (Ang, 1998; Benton & Gomez, 2008).

For example, Archer et al. (2010) argue that their participants located authenticity within Chinese culture and identity as promoted in the schools to counter a risk of westernisation. Exploring issues in Chinese transnational identities, Ang (1998) defines the centrality of concepts of "hybridisation" and "authenticity". In particular, he argues migrant Chinese communities distil cultural attributes such as values and linguistic practices to foster recognition for their own cultural status as authentic Chinese (Ang, 1998).

Drawing on the domains of linguistics, sociolinguistics, and applied linguistics, Beinhoff and Rasinger (2016) attempt to theorise the concept of authenticity in identity research. In problematising how in sociolinguistics the concept is often considered intuitive, they draw on the work of Lindholm (2008) to suggest authenticity is a combination of two overlapping modes: origin and content. In their interpretation, Beinhoff and Rasinger (2016) define origin in terms of the

history of participants or their group (e.g., their regional origin), while content might refer to personal identities and the language patterns in observed communication.

However, these two modes are problematic as they are not universally valid (Lindholm, 2008). With regard to language, Beinhoff and Rasinger (2016) argue people can use both modes to negotiate different and more desirable identities “including alternative narratives about their origins to their actual ‘authentic’ personal history (or biography)” (p. 573). As individuals use their identity resources to do identity work during interaction, authenticity can be regarded as a construct which depends upon the linguistic resources available and used in a specific context (Beinhoff & Rasinger, 2016).

However, language is not the only feature involved in determining one’s authenticity as part of a community. As Blommaert and Varis (2011) argue, features determining authenticity can include not only linguistic ability, but also appearance, possession, and behaviour. Furthermore, authenticity as an identity issue is a “dynamic process which involves conflict, contestation and reinvention” (Blommaert & Varis, 2011, p. 4).

Authenticity can represent an important issue for migrant communities who often claim to be representative of particular languages and cultures that they try to preserve (Ang, 1998). As Chinese community schools represent sites where a sense of Chinese identity is promoted and, in some ways forced onto children, the concept of authenticity is relevant in this study.

However, I do not seek to investigate whether pupils and adults possess features of authenticity. Rather, I am interested in how those involved in the schools construct concepts of authenticity to attribute and contest Chinese identity for themselves and others in the schools.

2.6 Theoretical framework of the study: A ‘bricolage’ approach

This chapter has reviewed the extant literature on community schooling (2.1) and, in particular, British-Chinese community schooling, as a research topic that has received relatively little scholarly attention (2.1.4). In the second part of the

chapter, theories from the domains of intercultural communication and education (e.g., Holliday's small and large culture paradigm), sociocultural pedagogies (e.g., van Lier's ecological approach to language), applied linguistics concepts (e.g., translanguaging), and psychology (e.g., social and cultural identity theory) were presented to conceptualise key notions of language (2.3), culture (2.4) and, identity (2.5).

First, the interdisciplinary nature of the theoretical framework of this study resonates with the concept of a 'bricolage' approach, as articulated in the context of Denzin and Lincoln's (2000) interpretivist qualitative research. As it allows researchers to move beyond the boundaries of particular disciplines, the bricolage approach to research is grounded on an epistemology of complexity (Kincheloe, McLaren, Steinberg, & Monzó, 2017). In fact, Kincheloe, McLaren, and Steinberg (2011) contend that, in a contemporary sense, bricolage "[i]s understood to involve the process of employing these methodological processes as they are revealed in the unfolding context of the research situation" (p. 168).

This study is influenced by two key features of the bricolage approach: interdisciplinarity, and research self-consciousness (Lincoln, 2001; Kincheloe et al., 2017) that resonates with the concept of reflexivity (see discussion in 3.4.7).

In this study, interdisciplinarity involves the use of different concepts (e.g., social identity, translanguaging, and capital) derived from different theories (e.g., social identity theory, theories of CHL) and disciplines (e.g., intercultural communication and applied linguistics). Taking this approach helped me to provide a comprehensive understanding of different aspects of community schooling such the classroom language ecologies (2.3.3).

The extant literature (2.1) and the theories of language, culture, and identity discussed in the previous sections of this chapter (2.2; 2.3; 2.4; 2.5) are employed to investigate the complexity of pupils' and adults' constructions.

On the one hand, previous empirical research on community schooling and Chinese migrant communities (1.1 and 2.1) is compared and contrasted with my findings, as I illustrate in the contributions of this study.

On the other hand, different theoretical perspectives are used to deconstruct and reconstruct key concepts of community education, language, culture, and identity. For example, as far as the investigation of language is concerned, the concept of translanguaging (2.3.3) is used to understand how pupils use their language resources in the classrooms. In addition, theories of CHL (2.3.1) and native speakerism (2.3.2) serve the purpose of exploring how participants attributed value to Chinese language and language education.

By offering multiple and multifaceted readings on the research topic, I seek to provide points of differentiation between the current study and previous literature on community schooling in the UK. In fact—as discussed in 2.1.4 — previous studies have focused on specific aspects of CCS (e.g., Creese and Blackledge’s (2010) study on language practices and Wu’s (2006) study on the culture of learning).

Furthermore, the studies discussed in the literature (e.g., Francis et al. 2009, 2010; Archer et al., 2010) do not account for the intercultural dimension of CCS . Instead, Chinese community schools have been termed as cultural, “ethnic enclaves and a ‘sanctuary’ from minorisation” (Francis et al., 2009, p. 532). At the same time, a lack of an interdisciplinary approach to concepts of language and culture leads potentially to a critique of cultural ossification in the context of Chinese migrant communities (Archer et al., 2010). Such a monodisciplinary approach to the study of CCS poses challenges for capturing the complexity of the phenomenon in that it fails to appreciate the importance of the relationships and interactions of those parts of the research process, and the intercultural dimension of the phenomenon.

Attempting to mitigate this issue and to provide a comprehensive account of the phenomenon of CCS, this study adopts an interdisciplinary approach where the range of theoretical perspectives (identified above) intersect and thus allow me to interpret Chinese community schools as intercultural spaces. Second, the concept of reflexivity (research self-consciousness) also guides the analysis of this study. It supports my understanding of research as an active process shaped by the individual positioning (e.g., personal history, gender, race) of both the researcher and the researched (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). The

researcher's and participants' subjectivities, which are ever-changing although culturally-specific and power-inscribed, are fundamental in a bricolage approach (Lincoln, 2001). By appreciating how research is a power-driven act, the bricoleur-researcher "[a]bandons the quest for some naïve concept of realism, focusing instead on the clarification of his or her position in the web of reality and the social location of other researchers and the ways they shape the production and interpretation of knowledge" (Kincheloe et al., 2017, p. 244).

I have undertaken this study in the awareness of the importance of criticality and reflexivity for my own research practice. In particular, the role of researcher reflexivity and the researching multilingually component of the study are discussed respectively in sections 3.4.6 and 3.4.7 and in section 8.2.2 of the Conclusions chapter.

In conclusion, this study is theoretically premised on an interdisciplinary 'bricolage' approach to community education that is aligned with the epistemological position of interpretivism and its concern for people's subjective experiences. Overall, this approach conceptualises community schools as intercultural spaces where ideologies of language and culture are negotiated by participants as they engage in encounters with others in the schools, including me, the researcher.

As pupils' and adults' narratives are deconstructed and reconstructed in the three findings chapters, my analysis does not aim to pin down definitions of language, culture, and identity. Instead, by bringing together a range of different theoretical perspectives (e.g., Holliday's grammar of culture, van Lier's ecological approach to language, and theorisations of social and cultural identity) and by acknowledging the role of the researcher's reflexivity, this study seeks to capture the uniqueness and richness of Chinese pupils' and adults' experiences.

2.7 Summary and research questions

Reflecting the aim of this study—to investigate the significance of Mandarin Chinese community schooling for pupils, parents, and teaching staff involved in

it—this chapter has reviewed the literature which determined the focus and orientation of this study.

First, I reviewed the body of literature on community schooling in the UK (2.1) using Li's (2006) categorisation of the schools into Afro-Caribbean (2.1.1), faith (2.1.2), and language community schools (2.1.3). The literature on Chinese (Mandarin and Cantonese) community schooling was reviewed separately, as it is the focus of this study (2.1.4). Thereafter, I discussed the key theoretical concepts that underpin this study: language (2.3), culture (2.4), and identity (2.5). These concepts were explored both vis-à-vis the topic of Chinese community schooling and with reference to theories from the domains of intercultural communication and education, socio- and applied linguistics and, psychology.

The literature reviewed in section 2.1 has highlighted the social, political, and educational role of community schools that, through the promotion of cultures, languages, and faiths, help to support their pupils as they construct their own sense of identity. In particular, Chinese community schools have emerged not just as educational environments, but as self-defined cultural agents where notions of Chinese language, culture, and identity are negotiated and contested by pupils, parents, and teachers (Ganassin, in press).

Section 2.3. examined the concept of language as a social construct. First, I conceptualised Chinese as a heritage language (CHL) and then problematised definitions of CHL that treat it as a monolithic entity and, in so doing, fail to take into account linguistic diversity and language minority status (Zhu & Li, 2014; Ganassin, in press). Next, drawing on the work of Kramsch (1998), Creese and Blackledge (2010), Zhu (2014), and Byram (2006), I discussed how language can represent a marker of identity. The relevance for this study of the concept of native speakerism (Kramsch, 2012) and of benchmarks of authenticity and legitimacy were then considered. Finally, I explained that this study investigates language practices from the perspective of language ecology (van Lier, 2004) and uses the concept of translanguaging (García & Li, 2014).

In 2.4, I discussed how culture is understood in this study from within the fields of intercultural education and communication. First, I clarified how viewing China as a civilisation (as discussed in chapter 1) informs my understanding of Chinese culture as a construct that is not necessarily related to an affiliation with the particular geo-political entities of China-PRC and Taiwan-ROC. Then, I presented Holliday's (2013) grammar of culture and explained how it is used in this study as a theoretical and methodological framework that captures the socially constructed, fluid, and negotiable nature of culture.

Further, in 2.5 I discussed concepts of cultural and social identity and indicated that this study would take a social constructionist approach to them. Here, I aligned my position with scholars such as Hall (1990, 2006) and Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) who define identity as being dynamic, multiple, and developed over time in interaction. Drawing on the work of Beinhoff and Rasinger (2016), I problematised the concept of "authenticity" in identity in relation to the literature on community schooling and Chinese communities.

Finally, in 2.6, I discussed how an intercultural approach to community schooling guides the analysis of the study's findings and it is used to capture the complexity of concepts of language, culture, and identity.

Four research questions emerge from the literature review:

1. How do pupils, parents, and school staff understand the aim and focus of Mandarin Chinese community schooling?
2. How do pupils construct Chinese language(s) vis-à-vis the aims of the schools? How do teachers and parents contribute to understandings of Chinese language and language education and what ideologies lie behind such constructions?
3. How do pupils construct Chinese culture vis-à-vis the aims of the schools? How do teachers and parents contribute to the pupils' constructions, and what ideologies lie behind such constructions?
4. How do pupils construct and present their identity based on their constructions of language and culture, and involvement in Chinese

community schools? How are these identities confirmed and contested by others?

Question one explores how the pupils, adults, and teaching staff understand the aim and focus of Chinese community schooling in order to define to what extent adults and pupils share such understandings and whether their perspectives align with the agenda of the schools. Previous studies on Chinese community schooling showed pupils and adults have different understandings of the role and importance of the schools (i.e., language learning, transmission of culture) (Francis et al., 2005a, 2005b). Thus, establishing how those involved in the schools understand the aim and focus of community schooling is important in ascertaining its importance in their lives.

Questions two and three explore more deeply how the study participants understand and construct the agenda of the schools as regards the teaching and maintenance of Chinese language and culture. Working from a social constructionist perspective, the study explores both how participants coconstruct, negotiate, and contest language and culture, and what ideologies inform the constructions they offered when interacting with each other and with me, the researcher.

Specifically, the second research question focuses on gathering data on the role and value of Chinese language learning in the context of community schooling (e.g., Francis et al., 2009; Mau et al., 2009) in order to explore how the schools provide a context for pupils, parents, and school staff to construct understandings of Chinese language. By listening to and analysing participants' narratives, this study enables their "real voices" to emerge in relation to Chinese language education (Dervin, 2013).

Question three addresses the centrality of culture in the agenda of the schools and its role in transmitting traditional and contemporary Chinese culture (Archer et al., 2010). By endorsing a fluid and dynamic view of culture, one which is never stable but constantly negotiated in social interaction (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004), this study aims to critique notions of Chinese culture as a 'real entity' often adopted in the literature on Chinese community schooling

(Francis et al., 2008; 2009). Thus, the third research question shifts the focus from the benefits of the maintenance of Chinese culture for those involved in the schools to an examination of the processes underlying their understandings. Holliday's (2013) grammar of culture is used to investigate how culture is constructed and understood by pupils and adults vis-à-vis the agenda of the schools.

Question four aims to conclude discussion of the findings by investigating how pupils' experiences of Chinese community schooling—and particularly their constructions of language and culture—impacted on what they presented as their identities. As both constructions of language and culture can represent identity markers (Holliday, 2010), the study explores these in order to understand how they “are used to indicate shifts and inconsistencies in identification” (p. 5). The ways in which adults confirmed and contested pupils' identities are also discussed.

Having reviewed the relevant literature, discussed my theoretical understanding of language, culture, and identity, presented the ‘bricolage’ approach adopted in this study, and defined the research questions, the next chapter presents my methodological approach and the research design which underpins this study.

Chapter 3 Methodology

Overview

This chapter presents the methodology used to address the study's research questions. The research paradigm that underpins this study and provides a rationale for adopting social constructionism as its ontological perspective (3.1) is explained first. Second, I explain the study's qualitative interpretivist approach and its use of ethnography (3.2). The research context (3.3) is introduced prior to discussing of the methods used in this study (3.4). This section discusses sampling, methods of data collection and analysis, ethical considerations, researching multilingually, reflexivity, and the criteria used for judging this research. Finally, how the pilot study has informed a number of decisions related to the methodology and methods in the main study is discussed (3.5).

3.1 Research paradigm: Rationale for social constructionism

This study aims to explore the significance of Chinese community schools as intercultural spaces for the pupils, parents, and teaching staff involved in them. In particular, the study investigates how the agenda of these schools promotes Chinese language, culture, and identity and how, at the same time, these were constructed, negotiated, and contested by pupils and adults.

Pupils' and adults' experiences of CCS are understood through the lens of social constructionism (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, 1979; Gergen, 2009), the study's overarching paradigm. Social constructionism is primarily concerned with human experiences and how people understand them (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). Fundamentally, social constructionism draws on the idea that there are multiple realities in the social world and a belief that these realities are constructed and negotiated by individuals in social interaction and socialisation (primary, secondary and resocialisation). Social constructionism uses human experiences of everyday life as a primary resource for conducting research (Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011), thus a social constructionist lens is appropriate for a study that focuses on the experiences that those involved in CCS wish to share and how they want to share them (Gergen, 2009). In particular, a social constructionist approach allows the researcher to capture

the processes through which individuals construct culture, language, and identity as they socialise and interact in the context of the schools.

Social constructionism not only underpins the theoretical framework of this study but is also consistent with its main foci—Chinese language, culture, and their impact on pupils’ identities—all of which are constructed by pupils, parents, and teaching staff through social interaction. Furthermore, social constructionism has also informed the methodological framework of this study. Given the focus of my research on the importance of participants’ subjective experiences and how phenomena are important in terms of the meaning that people attach to them, I have adopted a research methodology that embraces the view that reality is subjective and constructed in relationships between individuals. I, therefore, adopt a qualitative approach aimed at responding to Lincoln’s (2010) call to provide “new, richer, more complex, more authentic representations of those with whom we [researchers] work” (p. 5). Furthermore, issues of voice and the adoption of an “interpretative, naturalistic approach to the world” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 3) are at the core of qualitative research and are central in the development of this study. The qualitative approach of this research is discussed in the next section as the foundation of the research methodology.

3.2 Qualitative dimension of the study and ethnography

This section discusses how the choice of a qualitative interpretivist methodology (3.2.1) and, in particular, the framework of ethnography (3.2.2) guide this study.

3.2.1 Qualitative interpretivist research

Research that draws on qualitative methodology is consistent with the ontological perspective of social constructionism. Although the terms quantitative and qualitative are commonly used to refer to two research paradigms, they actually refer to the types of data collected (Lee, 2014). Quantitative and qualitative research paradigms can thus more specifically be termed respectively explanatory and interpretive research, the latter involving any type of research that does not involve quantification means such as statistical procedures (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Qualitative research endorses an interpretivist vision of reality. Contrasting with the natural scientific models adopted in quantitative research, qualitative

research focuses on how “participants themselves make sense of their own social world through their own interpretation of it” (Bryman, 2009, p. 366). Interpretivist approaches look upon participants and their interpretation of the social world as primary data sources, a social world which is produced and reproduced through their social interactions with others and represented by meanings constructed through language (Blaikie, 2000). Participants’ subjectivity and the distinctiveness of their human experience, which enables them to make sense of the social reality in which they live, represents a distinctive feature of qualitative research (Blaikie, 2000; Silverman, 2000). Furthermore, in a qualitative interpretivist framework, reality is assumed to be socially constructed through interaction in a process which emphasises situational constructions and processes occurring in natural settings (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

A qualitative research design, however, not only reflects my theoretical framework, but is also the most appropriate way to address my research questions. Seeking to answer questions that examine the processes whereby social reality is created and given meaning enables the qualitative researcher to explore the ways in which individuals interpret their social world rather than to see reality as external and objective, as embodied by quantitative approaches (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Bryman, 2009). Adopting a qualitative interpretive approach serves the purpose of this study, because it enables exploration of how and why participants construct language and culture in particular ways and how these constructions inform their sense of identity.

Finally, the small scale of the study itself also supports its being qualitative rather than quantitative research. The study’s samplings do not allow, and are not aimed at, generalisation to the general phenomenon of CCS in the UK. Instead, they explore in depth the specific contextual realities within two schools, thus opening up further research possibilities.

In the following section, I explain how ethnography, as a way of carrying out qualitative research, informed the development of this study.

3.2.2 Ethnography as methodology

Ethnography or ethnographic research is one possible approach to qualitative research. As ethnography is used in different ways in different research

traditions (O'Reilly, 2005), there is no unanimous definition of ethnography, and some features of it are contested (Jackson, 2016).

Brewer (2000) defines ethnography as a style of research which aims to understand “the social meanings and activities of people in a given ‘field’ or setting, and its approach, which involves close association with, and often participation in, this setting” (p. 11). Further, Aull-Davies (2008) describes ethnography as a “research process based on fieldwork using a variety of mainly (but not exclusively) qualitative research techniques including engagement in the lives of those being studied over an extended period of time” (p. 5).

Deeply rooted in disciplines such as sociology and anthropology (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007), ethnographic research is now widely used within the fields of education, language, and intercultural communication that this study draws on (Jackson, 2006). Unlike other forms of qualitative research, ‘culture’ is a core element in ethnography, and so it aligns with the purpose of this study, because it enables a rich description not only to what people do in particular settings but also to how and why they do it to emerge (Wolcott, 2008). Ethnography is particularly important in this study as it permits access to people’s social meanings and activities (Brewer, 2000) and allows the researcher to present an accurate portrayal of their perspectives.

Ethnography was chosen for its ability to provide rich understanding of linguistic, cultural, and behavioural practices of particular groups (in this case, Chinese pupils and adults) in a specific context (two Mandarin community schools in England), and time (the time at which this research was conducted) (Jackson, 2016). Another reason for choosing ethnography lies in the flexibility it offers in terms of data collection methods. In fact, ethnographic studies may draw on a wide range of qualitative data-collection methods, such as participant observation, formal or informal interviewing, document analysis (e.g., diaries, policy documents), and visual methods (Jackson, 2016).

In this study, I implemented a number of methods to fulfil different aims and to respond to different research questions; these were participant observation documented through research field notes, document analysis, interviews, one-to-one semistructured interviews and focus groups, and visual methods. Next, I provide a theoretical description of these methods.

Participant observation and research field notes

Ethnographic research offers the possibility of drawing on a multiplicity of research methods. However, a core feature of all ethnographic research is the importance of participant observation as a “method in which observers participate in the daily life of a people under study” (Brewer, 2000, p. 190). Hence, participant observation can be understood as the researcher’s long-term and extensive engagement in the research field and that represents a primary source of ethnographic data. I used this approach to observe participants act and interact in real life settings that involve close association and familiarity with that social setting (Brewer, 2000). Such spontaneity enables a more authentic experience of the research context.

Bryman (2009) describes four possible participant observer roles for ethnographic researchers (pp. 410-411):

- Complete observer: The researcher does not interact with the members of their studied social setting and generally carries out unobtrusive observation based data collection.
- Observer-as-participant: The researcher is mainly an observer with some minor interaction with the members of their studied social setting, mainly in the form of data gathering.
- Participant-as-observer: The researcher takes the same active role of complete participant, but the other members of the social setting are aware of the researcher’s role which is, therefore, overt.
- Complete participant: The researcher acts as a full acting member of the researched setting; here, other members are not aware of the researcher’s role which is, therefore, covert.

The roles of complete observer and complete participant were ruled out at the planning stage. First, I rejected the role of complete observer because I believed that relationship-building and extensive engagement with the adults and pupils in my study would benefit my data collection both by providing me with richer observational data and in facilitating the recruitment of research participants. Furthermore, it would have been impossible to gain access to the schools without clarifying the reasons for my presence. As the research settings involved children and young people my choice was further informed by ethical concerns such as my duty to inform parents and teachers that I intended to

observe and collect data from the pupils. Secondly, as I am not Chinese, I could not have acted as complete participant and disguised myself as a covert observer. Had my role been covert, it would not have been possible to engage in more open, formal data collection (e.g., interviews). I, therefore, adopted the approaches of observer-as-participant and participant-as-observer at different times and in different ways. These are described in further detail in 3.4.2.

Keeping detailed research field notes, where the researcher records his/her observations, reflections, and analytical thoughts is central to any ethnographic study (Jackson, 2016). Ethnographic researchers use field notes to record activities, events, and other features of the observed phenomena in order to make meanings out of them (Burgess, 1991). Field notes were important in this study as they allowed me to capture information about the research context and participants that added richness to the other data sources (i.e., interviews and visual artefacts).

Documents

In ethnographic research, collecting and analysing documents related to the research context as a data-collection method complements other methods. Such documentation includes, but is not restricted to, policy statements, letters, diaries, narratives, and responses to email prompts (Jackson, 2006). Photographs and other visual artefacts can also be treated as documents (Pink, 2007).

On the one hand, gathering information from documents has the advantage of being an unobtrusive method. At the same time, obtaining documents can be challenging for researchers as accessibility and availability depend on research context and participants (Yin, 2009). Nowadays, the easy availability of internet-based documentation e.g., website content enables the researcher to analyse documents (Bryman, 2009). Virtual documents were important in this research and items such as the mission statements of the schools were accessed online.

Interviews

Interviews are widely used in ethnographic research as they enable researchers to gather data directly from participants and to investigate how they associate things and make meaning from them (Berg 2007). Hammersley and Atkinson

(2007) recommend using a combination of interviews and observations, as was done in this research. Two types of interviews were used in this study with adults and pupils respectively: one-to-one semistructured interviews and focus groups.

One-to-one semistructured interviews are a qualitative interviewing method whereby the researcher has a list of open-ended questions or an interview guide with topics to be covered (Bryman, 2009). One-to-one semistructured interviews offer flexibility to the researcher, who is able to conduct the conversation in a way which best suits the participant and situation, whilst maintaining the focus on the themes he or she wants to explore. Questions can be prepared beforehand allowing the interviewer to be focused on the conversation; however, the researcher can rephrase, modify the order, and prompt for elucidations and clarifications (Corbetta, 2003). Such flexibility enhances the researcher's ability to explore certain topics and subject areas in depth, ensuring meanwhile that the participant remains engaged. Individual interviewing is used largely in educational research and represents, together with participant observation and document analysis, one of the most common ways to carry out research within community schools (Wu, 2006; Francis et al., 2005a, 2005b).

Two considerations informed the choice of this research method. First, it can be argued that adults construct their experience of community schooling more individually than do children. Second, issues of confidentiality supported the choice of a method aimed at capturing information from individual adults in a private and comfortable setting. Finally, semistructured interviews suit research designs, such as the one developed here, where no specific hypothesis is presented as a premise for the study, but rather key themes and subquestions are used as a framework to explore the participant's perspectives arising from unplanned conversation cues (David & Sutton, 2004).

Focus groups are extensively used in research that aims to access participants' experiences and their interpretation of them through verbal language (Gauntlett, 2007), giving them a context where they interact in a group moderated by the researcher (Morgan, 1996). In terms of a research method, focus groups have the potential to capture the ways in which individuals interpret their social world in that they endorse a view of social reality as

constantly moving and changing (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Moreover, evidence from educational research supports the importance of peer settings and opportunities for collaborative work in small groups to enhance children's cognitive understanding, and support the creation of self-generated meaning (Lyle, 1993).

Focus groups also present the practical advantage of generating a large and rich amount of data in a short time, investigating simultaneously the points of views of at least four participants. As I carried out my study within the schools' opening times (2-3 hours a week excluding school holidays), I had to optimise the data collection process. Therefore, focus groups represented an effective way of collecting a rich amount of data in a reasonable time, minimising my interference with the classroom teaching, and providing pupils with a group activity.

Visual methods

Visual methods are used in ethnography, and particularly in visual ethnography, to respond to the need of researchers to engage with and make sense of the images surrounding them and their participants. As Pink (2007) contends, photography, video, and hypermedia are increasingly used by ethnographers in order "to develop understandings of the meanings and experiences that images and visual and media practices have in other people's lives".

In ethnography, possible visual methods include not only photography, video, web-based media but also visual artefacts such as drawings, maps, and diagrams (Rose, 2007, 2012). These can be used as part of the research field notes, as sources of data on their own right, and as prompts for discussion (i.e., visually mediated interviews) (Bryman, 2009). A further distinction in visual methods concerns the context and purpose of their production. Visual artefacts can either exist prior to the research, and so present similarities with documents, or be generated by participants or by the researcher for the specific purpose of the research (Rose, 2004, 2007).

This study draws on participant-generated visual artefacts and, in particular, drawings and diagrams collected from children and young people. When I designed this study, I was particularly interested in how visual methods can represent a creative and relatively underused (Woolner, Thomas, Todd, &

Cummings, 2009) data collection tool to engage with children and young people. The positive evaluation of my previous experience of working in a community-based research project where visual research methods were used also influenced my choice (Hudson & Ganassin, 2010).

Researchers argue for the appropriateness of visual methods in learning contexts including schools, because they are inclusive and can be designed to suit a range of development-related abilities and capacities especially when the ages of the young participants vary (Drew, Duncan, & Sawyer, 2010). Moreover, they offer a complex and coherent understanding of the schools as learning environments and they facilitate the exploration of behavioural factors and subjective experiences of schooling and learning (Woolner et al., 2010).

The use of pupil views templates (PVT) within the Learning to Learn project (L2L) played an important role in informing the choice of visual methods in this study. The L2L aimed to empirically explore learning experiences of children from the age of 4 to the age of 16 across 50 British institutions (Wall, Higgins, Hall, & Gascoigne, 2011). PVT were used in combination with other visual methods to help children to reflect on their experience of learning. Children worked in small groups. They were given individual cartoon storyboard templates to fill out in response being asked to tell the story of any experience of learning. For the purpose of this study, it is particularly relevant that the L2L project demonstrated that cartoon storyboards can effectively help children to move from the concrete to the abstract and to deconstruct learning processes and their importance in their lives (Wall, 2008).

In addition, the ability of participant-generated visual artefacts, and, particularly drawings in this study, to facilitate the translation of abstract concepts such as identity onto paper is central to this study. As Gauntlett (2007) points out, visual methods support multidimensional thinking and allow a set of ideas to emerge organically rather than forcing them in a given order. Given the difficulties of having a certain image of our identity in our mind and the fact that identity does not necessarily translate into a “ready-made diagram” (Gauntlett, 2007, p. 126), images are good ways to prompt children and young people to reflect about their lived experiences. Furthermore, Gauntlett (2007) contends that giving time to participants to create a visual artefact, and then to reflect on what they are representing, helps them to construct a complex representation

of their identities. Thus, in this study I also used prompted drawing-based activities aimed at giving pupils time to think and elaborate upon their ideas before translating them into images.

Having discussed the qualitative ethnographic dimension of this study, I next introduce the research context.

3.3 Research context

The research context of this study consists of two Mandarin Chinese community schools (named in this study Apple Valley and Deer River) situated in England. These research sites were chosen for two reasons: 1) my preexisting connections with them, and 2) their easy accessibility. The schools were known to me as they were in my community and I knew parents and children attending them. I also chose sites that could be easily accessed (in terms of distance) over the 14-month fieldwork period and enable me to meet local participants outside the school time, if required.

At the time of my data collection (November 2013–January 2015), Apple Valley School had 65 students, six teachers and four support teachers including language teachers, teachers of Chinese chess and art and one teacher of Chinese for adults. The majority of the teachers had a formal teaching qualification and extensive work experience in schools or universities. All the teachers were women and had Mandarin as their first language. Some of them were postgraduate students at local universities, academic staff, or others professionals.

The school was established in the late 1990s with the purpose of teaching Mandarin and promoting Chinese culture. Apple Valley received funding from school fees, university-related sponsorships, sponsorships from UKAPCE (UK Association for the Promotion of Chinese Education), and the sale of Chinese goods. At the time of the study, Apple Valley School had an elected school committee which consisted of five parents. The school holds regular staff and committee meetings, one AGM (annual general meeting) and at least three or four annual events including a Chinese New Year event, a sports day, and a school trip. Its six language classes for children cover reception level to AS/A2 advanced level. Each weekly class lasted for 2 hours, and there were separate Mandarin classes for students preparing for GSCE (General Certificate of Secondary Education) and A-level (General Certificate of Education

Advanced Level) exams. Children were generally grouped by level of proficiency rather than by age and were accepted from 5 years of age upwards. A weekly language class for adults was also offered. The class was open to anyone, but it was mostly attended by local British people whose partners were from Chinese backgrounds. Alongside the language classes, the school offered different recreational clubs: art and chess for children, and Chinese dance classes for adults.

The planned curriculum—which for the purpose of this study refers to the contents and aims of the syllabus and, thus, to its theoretical aspect (Kelly, 1999)—focused on teaching Mandarin Chinese and preserving Chinese culture (paraphrased from the school website). As far as the language aspect was concerned, the curriculum focused on the development of four skills: listening, speaking, reading, and writing. The provision of GSCE and A-level exams was also prioritised by the school. As far as the cultural aspect was concerned, the school focused on classroom (e.g., textbook contents) and extracurricular activities (e.g., celebration of festivals).

At the time of my data collection at Deer River School (September 2014 to December 2014) the school had 10 classes and about 90 students. Teachers were all women from different professional backgrounds. All were native Mandarin speakers from Mainland China and Taiwan. The head teacher and the vice-head teacher had extensive previous experience of running formal education programmes in China.

The school offered language classes for children from reception level to advanced level grouped by proficiency and age; each class took place weekly for three hours. Students could prepare for their GSCE and pupils were accepted from 5 years old upwards. The school's regular offering focused on Mandarin classes for children. At the time of the study, the school was attended mostly by Chinese families, including native Mandarin speakers from China, Singapore, Malaysia, and Taiwan. Cantonese speakers from Hong-Kong, a number of mixed heritage families; three or four local English families also attended.

The school was run as a charitable organisation and enjoyed in-kind use of the premises of a local mainstream school. Financially, Deer River School relied on student fees and donations. At the time of the study, the school was managed by a committee of parent members and teaching staff and guided by the

Constitution of the school. Throughout the year, the committee organised regular meetings, one school AGM, and other recreational activities and celebrations.

As with Apple Valley School, the mission of Deer River focused on advancing the teaching of Chinese culture and language within the local community (paraphrased from the school website). Its curriculum was similar to the one at Apple Valley in terms of its focus on four language skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing Mandarin Chinese, and simplified characters), provision of formal qualifications, and choice of textbooks. Although the committee of Deer River School had a strong interest in delivering cultural activities, these were limited due to lack of financial resources.

Apple Valley and Deer River adopted the same textbooks: the 中文 *Zhongwen* series compiled for an audience of overseas learners by the College of Chinese Language and Culture of Jinan University (CCLC) through a project supported by the Chinese Ministry of Education (<http://hwy.jnu.edu.cn>). Although the school committee and the teaching coordinator made core decisions on books and the curriculum, the teachers used their own materials to complement the lessons.

A final point concerns the student population. The websites of both schools refer to the teaching of Mandarin and Chinese culture to the wider community. However, the governing documents (i.e., constitution) of Apple Valley referred to the transmission of Chinese language and culture to heritage language speakers. Deer River School was open to students from all backgrounds, but families were required to be able to provide Mandarin language support at home. The agenda of the schools is discussed in further detail in the findings chapters.

Having described the context where this study was conducted, in the next section I present the research methods used in this study.

3.4 Methods

In this section, I first describe the participant sample (3.4.1), the data collection methods (3.4.2), the interview venues (3.4.3), and the data analysis methods (3.4.4). I then discuss ethical considerations concerning research with children and adults (3.4.5), before addressing the multilingual dimension of this study

(3.4.6), and, finally, researcher reflexivity (3.4.7). The discussion of the criteria used for judging this research conclude the research methods presentation (3.4.8).

3.4.1 Sampling

In this study, I sought the perspectives of three groups of pupils (23 children), eight parents, eight teachers, and two head teachers (18 adults) across two schools. I initially gained access to the research sites by contacting the principals directly and inquiring about their willingness to have their schools involved in the study. I then approached adult participants in the schools individually and consulted both parents and teachers about the possibility of involving pupils in group interviews.

The identification of research participants was purposive, a common feature of qualitative research (Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005) and was based on the interest and willingness of participants to be part of the study.

A further criterion for the sampling of pupils related to their age so that all the schools' age groups (5 to 18 years old) could be represented. Furthermore, my own language resources as researcher determined the recruitment of adult participants who could be interviewed in English. Arguably, this choice created issues in terms of inclusion, as a number of potential adult-participants did not have a sufficient command of English to participate in the study. In order to balance issues of inclusion, I tried to recruit participants from different areas of the Chinese-speaking world (Mainland China, Taiwan, Malaysia, and Hong-Kong). By doing so, I intended to represent the ethnic, linguistic, and geographical diversity of the schools' population.

Tables 3.1 and 3.2 below summarise the background information of all the pupils, including the three pilot study participants, and adults who participated in the study.

Table 3.1 Pupil participants

School	Pseudonym	Languages spoken	Visual data collected	FG
Apple Valley	Meili	Mandarin; English	Cartoon storyboard +Venn diagram	FG1
Apple Valley	Dewei	Mandarin; English	Cartoon storyboard +Venn diagram	FG1
Apple Valley	Bojing	Mandarin; English	Cartoon storyboard +Venn diagram	FG1
Apple Valley	Honghui	Mandarin; English	Cartoon storyboard +Venn diagram	FG1
Apple Valley	Jinlin	Mandarin; English	Cartoon storyboard +Venn diagram	FG1
Apple Valley	Yang	Mandarin; English	Cartoon storyboard +Venn diagram	FG1
Apple Valley	Kitty	English; Cantonese; Hakka; Mandarin	Cartoon storyboard +Venn diagram	FG2
Apple Valley	Yvonne	English; Cantonese; Hakka; Mandarin	Cartoon storyboard +Venn diagram	FG2
Apple Valley	Emily	Cantonese; English; Mandarin	Cartoon storyboard +Venn diagram	FG2
Apple Valley	Bella	English, Cantonese; Mandarin	Cartoon storyboard	FG2
Apple Valley	Leah	Mandarin; English	Cartoon storyboard	FG2
Apple Valley	Danny	Mandarin; English	Cartoon storyboard	FG2
Apple Valley	Eva	Mandarin; English	Cartoon storyboard	FG2
Apple Valley	Lucas	Mandarin; English	Cartoon storyboard	FG2
Apple Valley	Grace	Mandarin; English	Cartoon storyboard	FG2
Deer River	Roy	English; Cantonese; Hakka; Mandarin	N/A*	FG3
Deer River	Steve	English; Cantonese;	N/A*	FG3
Deer River	Julian	English; Cantonese; Mandarin	N/A*	FG3
Deer River	Violet	English; Cantonese; Mandarin	N/A*	FG3
Deer River	Lily	English; Cantonese; Hakka; Mandarin	N/A*	FG3
Deer River	Megan	English; Cantonese; Mandarin	N/A*	FG3
Deer River	Bruce	English; Mandarin	N/A*	FG3
Deer River	Alan	English; Mandarin	N/A*	FG3
Deer River	May	English; Cantonese; Mandarin	Cartoon storyboard+map	Pilot study**
Deer River	Tony	English; Cantonese; Mandarin	Cartoon storyboard+map	Pilot study**
Deer River	Sybil	English; Mandarin	Cartoon storyboard	Pilot study**

*Pupils did not want to produce visual artefacts

**The data collected during the pilot study (see 3.6) are not included in the analysis of the main study as the focus group was not recorded and the visual research methods were modified as a result of the pilot study.

Table 3.2 Adult participants

School	Position	Pseudonym	Languages spoken	Provenance	Interview duration
Apple Valley	Parent	Albert	Cantonese; Hakka; Mandarin; English	Hong Kong	46 minutes
Apple Valley	Parent	Philip	Mandarin; English	Mainland China	50 minutes
Apple Valley	Parent	Selina	Mandarin; English	Mainland China	32 minutes
Apple Valley	Parent	Judith	Mandarin; English	Mainland China	34 minutes
Apple Valley	Parent	Shuoqian	Mandarin; English	Mainland China	33 minutes
Apple Valley	Parent	Lan	Mandarin; English	Mainland China	36 minutes
Apple Valley	Head teacher	*Head teacher	Mandarin; English; other ethnic minority language	Mainland China	47 minutes
Apple Valley	Teacher	Lirong	Mandarin; English	Mainland China	31 minutes
Apple Valley	Teacher	Jun	Mandarin; English	Mainland China	37 minutes
Apple Valley	Teacher	Alice	Mandarin; English	Mainland China	65 minutes
Apple Valley	Teacher	Rose	Mandarin; English	Mainland China	42 minutes
Apple Valley	Teacher	Nala	Mandarin; English	Mainland China	49 minutes
Apple Valley	Teacher	Shuchung	Mandarin; English	Mainland China	32 minutes
Deer River	Parent	Chloe	Hokkien; Hakka; Cantonese; Mandarin; English	Malaysia	48 minutes
Deer River	Parent	Rita	Mandarin; Cantonese; English	Mainland China	29 minutes
Deer River	Head teacher	*Head teacher	Mandarin; English	Mainland China	43 minutes
Deer River	Teacher	Ting	Mandarin; English	Mainland China	34 minutes
Deer River	Teacher	Joy	Taiwanese-Mandarin; Mandarin; English	Taiwan	67 minutes

*To protect the identity of the head teachers no pseudonyms that might disclose their gender have been used.

3.4.2 Data collection methods

The following sections provide the details of the data collection methods used in this study. They are: research field notes, document analysis, one-to-one semistructured interviews, visual methods, and focus groups.

Participant observation and research field notes

In 3.2.2 I explained how my anticipated role as researcher shifted from being an observer-as-participant to become a participant-as-observer. In the original research design, I planned three sessions as observer-as-participant to observe the school activities, including children learning and interacting in the

classroom. However, I soon realised that such an approach would not have taken my research very far. In all, I spent 14 months in the field, taking part in school meetings, supporting the organisation of school events, and attending language classes with pupils (Apple Valley School). I was aware that hosting a researcher in a school setting could be perceived as disruptive by staff, parents, and potentially by pupils themselves. Therefore, to minimise any discomfort related to my presence and to give something back to the school I offered to help them with some organisational tasks. I have good experience of working in community settings, including event organising and fundraising, and I was confident that some of my skills would be beneficial to the schools.

My involvement in the schools also included 10 classroom observations in Apple Valley and 2 in Deer River. These allowed me to get an insight into what pupils experience at school and helped me to contextualise the focus groups discussions. Again, such involvement differed from my original expectations: all the teachers wanted to include me in the classroom activities or, more simply, assumed “you are in the classroom, you will take part, right?” (from research field notes, December 2014). From expecting to be an observer-as-participant I thus became a participant-as-observer.

Whilst in the schools, I took field notes to document my journey as researcher in the schools. I have used these notes to complement the other data (i.e., data from interviews and visual artefacts). Research field notes were important in this study as, by fostering self-reflection during the data collection and analytical stage, they helped me to make sense of what I observed and the data I collected. During my weekly observations at the schools I kept a diary; here I recorded every observation session. The field notes report place, time, and information about the main informants which they refer to. They include both descriptions of events (inscriptions) and notes about what participants said (transcriptions).

I organised the field notes into four categories to facilitate my data analysis process: observation notes (ON), reflective notes (RN), methodological notes (MN), and theoretical notes (TN). An example of my field notes is included in Appendix I. First, ONs are mostly descriptive and provide factual information (e.g., the participants’ language backgrounds). I used them to record concrete

observations such as classroom teaching and interaction between participants. These notes were useful in recalling what I had observed, but they also helped to contextualise the data collection (i.e., interviews and visually mediated focus group sessions). Further, RNs recall my feelings and other observations that I perceived as meaningful. For instance, I made observations about how I felt the participants were perceiving my presence in the schools. I also observed how I felt when the attitude of some of them towards me changed over time and how that change was reflected in the development of my research: for instance, if they decided to take part into the study. MNs refer to the data collection process. I reflected, for instance, on how and where I could conduct the interviews, and the potential availability of participants. The fourth type of notes (TN) was aimed at making connections between what I was observing and my theoretical framework. They were used to link my notes with the theoretical underpinnings of this study.

Overall, I conducted 38 days of observation in the two schools (72 hours). The observation sessions included 10 classroom observations in Apple Valley and 2 in Deer River. I also recorded my observations from one event at Deer River and three events at Apple Valley. I collected 55 pages of research notes in the two schools, 45 pertaining to Apple Valley and 10 pertaining to Deer River.

Time constraints, as the schools are only open once a week, prevented my spending the same amount of time in both schools. My involvement in Apple Valley was more intense for a number of reasons. At Deer River School, I had some friends including the participants in the pilot study; I was, however, less familiar with Apple Valley School and so, I needed time to build trust and relationships with adults and pupils there. Furthermore, Apple Valley had a rich calendar of activities that I could be involved in both as facilitator (i.e., workshops for children) and as observer.

I dedicated only one month to Deer River School. This was partially due to the school's having fewer resources (i.e., resources for extracurricular activities) and the school staff's greater concern that my involvement should not interfere with the classes. However, I was invited to attend a number of social events that took place out of the school's opening times (e.g., a karaoke night for parents), which was also useful for building relationships and carrying out observations.

Document analysis

I analysed a number of publicly available chartered documents related to the schools including their mission statements, constitutions, and curriculum plans.

In this study, document analysis serves three main purposes. First, the documents provided me with contextual information about the schools and informed the development of the research protocols. The second purpose of examining the documents was to ascertain how the schools envisioned themselves, what values they wanted to promote, and what strategic intent they pursued. Thirdly, I also used them to double-check factual information that I collected through the observation sessions (i.e., information related to the planned curriculum of the schools).

As all the documents that I used in this study are available online, to protect the anonymity of the two schools, the contents of the charter documents that I referred to are paraphrased in the findings analysis.

One-to-one semistructured interviews

I used one-to-one-semistructured interviews as a method for data collection with the adults. The interviews explored how the adults' views complement, confirm, or contrast with the pupils' perspectives. Table 3.2 details all the adult participants who took part in audio-recorded individual semistructured interviews.

I developed two slightly different interview protocols for school staff and parents with each having between four and eight guiding questions with prompts (see Appendix F). I began my data collection by interviewing the head teachers and teachers. Interviewing staff first helped reassure the pupils' families on the nature of the research and promote a supportive attitude towards me and my work.

During the interviews with staff members, issues related to the aims of the schools, their personal background, and pupils' involvement in the school were explored. Particularly, I focused on their perspectives and those of their pupils and the families in terms of the role and importance of community schooling.

Finally, the interviews touched on constructions of Chinese language, culture, and sense of Chinese identity.

The interviews with parents had a slightly different focus. After an introductory discussion on their backgrounds, I focused on their understanding of community schooling, what they wanted their children to achieve, and what their relationship with the teachers were. The next two sections describe the methods that I used with pupils.

Visual methods as applied in this study

In this study, I used two drawing-based visual methods: cartoon storyboards and Venn diagrams. I collected data from three groups of pupils across two sites. During each data-collection session I worked in a separate classroom with a group of children who already knew each other from being in the same class (either language or art class) in order to have a quiet confidential space for activities and discussion.

Prior to their focus group sessions, I gave pupils templates with instructions on how to complete a cartoon storyboard representing a meaningful learning moment at their Chinese school and a Venn diagram comparing their experiences of community and mainstream schooling. The visual artefacts produced by the pupils were used as a springboard for discussion in the focus group. After providing an introduction to the research, I explained the two different drawing activities.

For the first activity, I used cartoon storyboards on A4 papers with six boxes on each sheet as prompts and then allowed the pupils to use them in any way they wanted to describe their experience of CCS. The instructions refer specifically to a learning moment at school: "Use this storyboard to tell the story of one learning moment at the Chinese community school: something it has made you learn about yourself, about being Chinese, or anything else important for you. Feel free to use the space as you want with words, drawings etc.". The pilot study, described in the last part of this chapter, used storyboard cartoons with a less specific task: "Use this storyboard to represent your experience of Chinese Community School; feel free to use the space as you want with words, drawings etc.". Although the task worked well in engaging children, it resulted in quite

generic snapshots of different school activities. A change aimed at triggering more focused reflections was, therefore, made.

First, I gave children 15 minutes to carry out the task. Secondly, I asked them to turn over their worksheets and I explained the second visual task: filling out with words and or images a Venn diagram looking at Chinese and English schools. I gave pupils a further 10 minutes to complete the task. Participation in the visual task, just as with participation in the overall study, was voluntary. As a result, not all the pupils chose to complete their visual prompts. The pupils who participated in FG3 unanimously asked to proceed straight to their focus group session, as they were not keen on the drawing activities.

Once everyone who was interested had completed both tasks, the group took part in the actual focus group session and brought their drawings with them.

Overall, I collected 24 visual artefacts from FG1 and FG2 (15 cartoon storyboards and 9 Venn diagrams as detailed in Table 3.1). Next, I describe the use these visual artefacts were put to in the focus group sessions.

Focus groups

Pupils were interviewed in three focus group sessions which are referred to as FG1, FG2, and FG3 throughout the study's analysis:

- FG1 took place at Apple Valley School. It included six participants (five boys and one girl) aged between 15 and 17; they were all preparing for their Chinese GCSE. All the pupils were born in the People's Republic of China (PRC) to Chinese parents and had moved to the UK between 1 and 2 years prior to the study. All the participants stated that Mandarin was their mother tongue.
- FG2 also took place at Apple Valley School. It included nine participants (five girls and four boys) were aged between 5 and 11. They were at different points of their studies, but they were part of the same Chinese art class. All were second generation migrants from the PRC or Hong Kong or from mixed heritage families. The children's command of Mandarin varied, and all had English as their preferred language.
- FG3 took place in the second research site, Deer River School. It included eight participants (three girls and five boys) aged between 12 and 14.

They were all attending year 7. Four of them had previously attended a Cantonese community school and moved to their present Mandarin school in the preceding year. All the children were born in the UK, five of them came from Hong Kong families, and three from Mainland China and mixed heritage families. They all stated that English was their preferred language, although children whose families were from Hong Kong also considered Cantonese as their mother tongue.

I originally planned that focus group discussions would follow straight on from the visual methods-based activities. However, as already mentioned, the children who participated in FG3 took part only in the focus group itself. The focus groups lasted 42 minutes (FG1), 62 minutes (FG2), and 41 minutes (FG3) respectively; all the focus groups were audio-recorded.

Visual artefacts were used as a catalyst for discussion so that every child had something to discuss. I also encouraged pupils to ask each other questions and so their visual artefacts represented an immediate way of triggering their interest and curiosity. The visual artefacts were described by and discussed with the authors to elicit the messages that they desired to convey (Gauntlett, 2007).

I modelled a set of five questions to use in the focus groups on the study's research questions. Although I kept the language as child-friendly as possible, I was aware that some repetition and rephrasing would likely be required. The visual artefacts served as a trigger to start exploring why the children attend the school and the types of activities they do there:

1. Why have you decided to come to this school? Why do your parents want you to come? RQ1
2. What's the school about? What type of things do you learn? RQ1

Then, the importance of language and language learning in relation to Chinese identity was explored:

3. Is it important coming to the school/learning Chinese? Why? RQ2-3
4. Is speaking Chinese important to feel Chinese? Why? What other things make a person 'Chinese'? RQ3-4
5. What about yourselves? RQ 3-4

Finally, the discussion explored what being Chinese means to pupils and whether the schools have changed the way they look at themselves.

3.4.3 The interview venues

Community schools run only once per week, generally for 2-3 hours over the weekend and adopt the same terms as their mainstream schools, which gave me relatively short, convenient time slots for my data collection. For the same reason, I was able to work only on one research site at the time and I had to maximise my opportunities for data collection, especially with pupils. Thus, I ran the focus group sessions during the normal school time after prearranging them with teachers and head teachers. Parents received an email informing them about the focus group and children who were interested were interviewed in their own classrooms. During FG1 and FG2 at Apple Valley the pupils' teachers, Nala and Alice, asked to be present to facilitate the pupils' participation. Nala helped me to facilitate the conversation as the majority of the students had a limited command of English, whilst Alice's pupils were quite young and we felt that extra support would be helpful. No teacher was present when I organised the focus group with pupils at Deer River.

I gave adult participants the choice to decide when and where they wanted to be interviewed. The majority (14 adults) were interviewed on the school premises during or before class time. These interviews were relatively easy to organise, and I sought permission to use a separate schoolroom to minimise noise and interference.

Two teachers and two parents I became more familiar with during my time at the schools suggested meeting in a public place outside the school time. Thus, we met at places like a local library, a park, and a café. The interviews conducted in public were longer (over 1 hour) as participants had more time to dedicate to me.

3.4.4 Data analysis

In this section, I offer the rationale for using Braun and Clark's (2006, 2012) thematic analysis framework and illustrate how I used it to analyse my verbal and visual data. Holmes et al.'s framework for researching multilingually (2013, 2016) is used to explicate the data analysis and presentation of the study's languages.

Table 3.3 below provides an overview of the total data set, participants details are included in Tables 3.1 and 3.2.

Table 3.3 Overview of the total data set

Type of data	Description
Research field notes (collected over 38 days–72 hours of observation)	55 pages of the researcher's diary (45 pages pertaining to Apple Valley and 10 pertaining to Deer River)
School chartered documents	Mission statements, constitutions, and curriculum plans of Apple Valley and Deer River
Visual data (pupils only)	24 (main study)+3 (pilot study) visual artefacts: 15 cartoon storyboards (Apple Valley)+ 3 (pilot study, Deer River) and 9 Venn diagrams (Apple Valley)
Verbal data from one-to-one interviews and focus groups (adults and pupils)	Adults: 18 audio-recorded one-to-one semistructured interviews (total length 755 minutes, see Table 3.2) Apple Valley: interviews with 6 parents and 7 school staff (6 teachers+ head teacher) Deer River: interviews with 2 parents and 3 school staff (2 teachers+ head teacher)
	Pupils: 3 audio-recorded focus group discussions (FG1, FG2, FG3) (total length 145 minutes) Apple Valley: FG1 (42 minutes, 6 participants); FG2 (62 minutes, 9 participants) Deer River: FG3 (41 minutes, 8 participants)

Rationale for thematic analysis

In this study, I adopted thematic analysis (TA) as this qualitative method involves the identification, analysis, and accounting of themes through raw data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Furthermore, TA focuses on what participants say rather than how they say it and looks at recurring ideas and topics in the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). A number of factors informed my choice.

First, I chose to use thematic analysis which, although a method independent of specific theories and epistemologies, still retains the advantage of generating a rich account of data. Second, TA allowed me not only to capture key themes in relation to the research questions but also to rephrase the research questions in line with the emergent themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Such flexibility was required to capture the constructionist underpinnings and the exploratory purpose of the study. Third, as my method of analysis needs were driven by my research questions and the study's theoretical assumptions, TA's ability to work with "a wide range of research questions, from those about people's experiences or understandings to those about the representation and construction of particular phenomena in particular contexts" (Clarke & Braun, 2013, p. 120) made it appropriate. Overall, the framework of TA aligns with the qualitative dimension of this study. In the next section, I explain how Braun and Clark's (2006) guidelines were applied to the TA of my data set.

My analysis draws on the following: the research field notes, 18 individual interviews with adults, three focus group sessions with 23 pupils aged between 5 and 18 in two schools, and 28 visual artefacts produced by the children.

Thematic analysis of verbal and visual data

Braun and Clarke (2006) identify six key phases of thematic analysis: 1) familiarisation with the data; 2) generating initial codes; 3) searching for themes; 4) reviewing themes; 5) defining and naming themes; and, 6) producing the report.

I also drew on the work of Ryan and Bernard (2003) who provide more specific pointers about how to begin and organise thematic data analysis. Their work was particularly useful as it breaks down what researchers should look for when identifying themes; these are: 1) *repetitions*, as “the more the same concept occurs in a text, the more likely it is a theme” (2003, p. 89); 2) *indigenous typologies or categories*, i.e., local or familiar expressions being either unfamiliar or used in a unfamiliar way; 3) *metaphors or analogies*, because thematic analysis focuses on contents rather than on forms used to express them; 4) *transitions* as naturally occurring shifts in topics; 5) *similarities and differences*, looking at how participants might discuss a topic in different ways. The degree of similarity or difference in how participants discuss the same topic might generate themes, whilst “degrees of strength in themes may lead to the naming of subthemes” (2003, p. 91); 6) *linguistic connectors* (i.e., because, since, rather than) looking at causal and conditional connections in the minds of the participants; 7) *missing data*, as themes might be generated not just by actual contents, but from what participants omit; and, 8) *theory related materials*, using theoretical concepts as a springboard for themes and understanding of how qualitative data illuminate questions of importance to social science.

I used TA to analyse both verbal data (interviews, research field notes, governing documents of the schools) and visual data (cartoon storyboards and Venn diagrams). Previous educational studies supported the idea that different types of data, including visual ones, can be combined to give a more comprehensive picture and increasing rigour at the same time (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). In this research, different research methods have been combined, yet they are connected to each other and can be looked as a whole data set. Similarly, the analysis process considered them as distinctive but yet interconnected and able to generate structured findings.

I recorded, transcribed, and coded the verbal data according to Braun and Clarke's (2006) principles of thematic analysis. The first step of my analysis involved transcribing the recorded verbal data into a text, generally, straight after the data collection sessions, and formatting the pages to leave space for notes. I then highlighted data involving the children's descriptions of their visual artefacts so that these descriptions could be used during the actual visual data analysis. Samples of initial coding for a teacher interview and a focus group with pupils are provided in Appendix H and G respectively. When data in Chinese language were involved, I transcribed them in simplified characters. I printed out school documents and prepared them in the same way. After data transcription and printing, I familiarised myself with the data by reading the text and making notes about interesting emergent issues prior to moving to the second phase which involved the production of initial codes for the data.

Codes identify a relevant feature of the data and represent "the most basic segment, or element, of the raw data or information that can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding the phenomenon" (Boyatzis, 1998, p. 63). I considered how different codes could combine to form an overarching theme using visual representations (i.e., mind maps) to sort the different codes into themes and subthemes. During my fourth analytical phase, I looked at all the possible themes and subthemes generated and reviewed them in two stages. The first stage looked at the level of the coded data extracts, prior to considering whether the collated extracts for each theme all formed a coherent pattern. In that case, I transferred them onto a candidate thematic-map prior to proceeding to the second stage. A sample of coding (theme of culture) is provided in Appendix J. The second stage tested whether the themes worked in relation to the data set using a similar process to stage one. Having obtained an accurate map which fitted the data set, I defined and named themes as part of phase five. Thereafter, I reanalysed each theme and provided a narrative explanation showing why it was relevant and making sure that themes were coherent, concise, and not repetitive. Finally, I wrote up the analysis in light of my research questions.

In the analysis of the pupils' perspectives, visual and verbal data are compared and contrasted. As a result of this methodological choice, not all the study's findings are supported by both visual and verbal data, but result from different

insights offered by the children. These insights emerged from individual reflections on their visual artefacts, interaction during the focus groups, and observation of classroom interactions. When visual data are presented, the full original artefact is included, and the specific text or image discussed in the analysis is highlighted with a box.

Languages of data analysis and presentation

In order to respond to the need to present participants' "real voices" (Dervin, 2013), the data are presented in the original languages used during the data collection at the research site. Although all the data are presented and translated into English, the data analysis for the main study considered the languages used in the interviews and in the visual artefacts, English and/or Chinese. Such a choice enabled me to consider the meanings and linguistic choices made by the participants. When during the analysis I grappled with representing meaning through translation, for instance, where no precise English equivalent existed, the original Chinese word was used in the English text, and its etymology explained.

3.4.5 Ethical considerations

Ethical issues permeate research both with adults and children and they were carefully considered during the research process in order to best ensure the safety and confidentiality to the participants. I considered and addressed ethical issues at four main stages:

1. Research design
2. Access to the research site and recruitment of participants
3. Data collection
4. Data analysis and report writing.

This study received ethical approval from my university, and its guidelines underpin the ethics of my study. A copy of the Research Ethics and Data Protection Monitoring Form used in this study is included in Appendix B. In order to gain access to the research sites, I contacted the head teachers and obtained their permission to carry out observation sessions in the schools and to engage with adults in the first research stage. All participants were informed about the ethical principles around anonymity/confidentiality, the right to withdraw, and the right to refuse to participate in or to answer questions about

the study. When working with pupils, I also reassured them that there were no right or wrong answers and that they would not be judged for their opinions and ideas. Different consent forms and information sheets were designed for and delivered to pupils (Appendix C) and adults (Appendices D and E).

The focus groups with pupils were arranged in accordance with their willingness and the permission of their teachers and parents. As with adults, pupils' participation was voluntary and I asked pupils again if they wanted to participate after obtaining the authorisation of the adults. My research acknowledges the need to adhere to ethical issues such as the need to pass through an adult gateway when engaging with child participants. Bypassing adults to work with pupils in the schools was obviously not possible. Most importantly, I understood the concerns that adults could have about pupils' taking part in research and I was convinced that the best approach was an open and honest conversation with the adults. As reassurance for the schools and the parents, I shared some examples of my previous work with migrant communities (i.e., copies of two previous research reports I coauthored). I also proved that I had obtained an enhanced Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS) check through my employer as I was regularly working with vulnerable adults, young people, and children.

Furthermore, when working with children it is not only informed consent that needs to go through an adult gateway; children are likely to be influenced by adults when participating in research (Punch, 2002, p. 323). In order to minimise such issues, I initially discussed the study with the school principals and teachers as the first adult gateway. Teachers and head teachers supported my liaising with the parents to inform them about the study and what their children's involvement constituted. I was aware that adults were still in the position to influence the children's participation in the research, yet I remain convinced that this transparent approach is the best way of approaching participants.

Prior to their focus group sessions, I gave pupils verbal information covering the importance of audio-recording the focus group, anonymity, the possibility of visual artefacts being published, and the right to drop out at any time. Furthermore, pupils received child-friendly consent forms with all the

information about the focus group and research process (e.g., format of the focus group and their rights as participants) to keep and show to their parents.

Collected data have been securely stored and identifying features (reference to places where people lived) removed unless otherwise stated by participants. However, the use of visual methods raised further ethical issues. Data generated through visual methods are often strongly personalised (i.e., it is possible to identify people and places) and their dissemination might compromise the ethical concern for anonymity within research, even when ethical research committees make visual data restrictable (Prosser, 2007). Therefore, I asked pupils to produce drawings as visual artefacts less strongly personalised than, for instance, video and photographic materials. As issues of anonymity can still persist when drawings are used (i.e., participants can write names of people and places) one way to protect the pupils' privacy is anonymising particularly personalised images by "blocking out identifying features" (Rose, 2012, p. 337). Finally, I briefed pupils about the possible uses of their drawings and the fact that they could be shown or published for research purposes and asked their permission for this to happen.

Having discussed ethical issues related both to adults and pupils, I explore the multilingual dimension of this study next.

3.4.6 Researching multilingually

Languages are of central importance in this study. I not only conducted research on languages (e.g., construction of Chinese, CHL and language practices), but also across the different languages (i.e., English, Mandarin and other 方言 *fāngyán*, and Italian as my own mother tongue) that were at play throughout the study.

To make sense of the multilingual complexities and possibilities of this study, I draw on the theoretical framework created by Holmes, Fay, Andrews, and Attia (2013, 2016) that theorises researching multilingually praxis, that is, how researchers make choices about their linguistic resources in theorising, designing, undertaking, and writing up their research. My own involvement in the researching multilingually network project (Holmes et al., 2013; Ganassin & Holmes, 2013) also informed my researcher decision-making, or "purposefulness" in this study, that is, "the informed and intentional

research(er) thinking and decision-making which results from an awareness and thorough consideration of the possibilities for and complexities of all aspects of the research process” (Holmes et al., 2016, p. 101).

The model includes two conceptual dimensions, namely spatiality (research spaces) and relationality (relationships) (Holmes et al., 2013). First, spatiality relates to the concept of research spaces that are the multilingual aspects of a project. Holmes et al. (2013) define the importance of four multilingual spaces: (i) the researched context/phenomena (e.g., a doctoral study on Chinese community schools in England); (ii) the research context (e.g., a two Mandarin Chinese community schools); (iii) the researcher resources (i.e., language competencies of researcher and researched that included, but were not limited to, English and Mandarin); and, (iv) the representational possibilities (i.e., dissemination in English; inclusion of data in Chinese).

Second, relationality concerns how relationships are negotiated and managed in the research context and which languages are in play in the researcher-researched relationship. In this study, relationality involved the interpersonal and linguistic building of relationships with participants. This aspect was significant as it impacted on the negotiation of trust (i.e., negotiating access in the research sites), power relationships (i.e., with adults and children), and representation (i.e., whose voices were represented in the research).

English was central in the research design and data collection. This centrality depends upon the fact that the study is located in an English university, and the researched schools, that largely represent Chinese speaking contexts, are in a predominantly English-speaking community. My own language repertoire also informed the choice to conduct research in English. On the one hand, I studied Mandarin and I have some degree of literacy in simplified characters, including familiarly with the 拼音 *pīnyīn* transliteration system. I also have some basic understanding of Cantonese, although I cannot speak it. On the other hand, my command of Mandarin, which generally enables me to engage in informal conversation with people, would not have been sufficient to conduct full interviews. Thus, from the planning stage, I was aware that I could not provide participants with a choice of interview languages. At the same time, before undertaking the study I knew a couple of people attending the schools where I

conducted this research and I knew that they were not fluent Mandarin speakers themselves, one being a native speaker of Hokkien and one of Hakka. Hence, I considered that participants might not necessarily be native speakers of Mandarin themselves, but that I could expect to encounter a variety of other 方言 *fāngyán* at the research sites together in addition to English and Mandarin.

At the same time, I made the conscious decision not to use interpreters for a number of reasons. First, I felt that the mediation of an interpreter would have impacted on my relationships with participants and created a sense of distance. Second, I wanted to be fully able to engage with the data both during and after the different research phases (i.e., data collection, analysis, and writing up of findings). Third, I did not have the financial resources to pay for interpreters. Finally, my previous experience of working with interpreters in other contexts, such as contexts involving legal casework, raised such ethical and practical issues that I did not feel that this study would have significantly benefited from their involvement.

As far as the use of English is concerned, I learnt from my previous experience of research with migrant communities that the negotiation of a shared language—other than the native language of either the researcher or the participant—could provide an opportunity for neutralising the inbuilt power imbalance within research relationships (Ganassin & Holmes, 2013; Holmes et al., 2016). Thus, I could see the advantages of conducting research in English as a second or foreign language for both me and at least some of the participants and in the hope that our shared status as nonnative speakers and foreigners would have made us approachable to each other.

At the same time, I carried out this study with the awareness that I was bringing with me all the languages that form a part of my own repertoire which include English, Mandarin, Italian as my native language, Spanish, French, and a basic knowledge of Russian. Although I was not expecting, for example, that Italian would have had any relevance in this study, I did not completely rule out the possibility of its coming into use. In fact, my previous experience of work with migrant communities taught me that people's life trajectories, such as experiences of study and migration, can be so diverse that others' language repertoires are never fully predictable and researchers need to be aware of that.

I discuss the affordances and challenges offered by a “researching multilingually” lens in various findings chapters and in the Conclusions chapter of the thesis.

3.4.7 Reflexivity

Reflexivity accounts for the values, beliefs, and knowledge that researchers bring into their studied context. Thus, reflexivity is important in qualitative research because it enhances the credibility of the findings (Berger, 2013).

Holmes (2014a) argues that in qualitative ethnographic research both researcher and researched engage in fieldwork in such a way that:

Jointly, they must negotiate the research context, the focus and topic of the research, the processes by which data is generated (e.g. through interaction between researchers and researched), and how each comes to know and understand the other as knowledge of the phenomenon under investigation is constructed. (p. 100)

In this study, I acknowledge the importance and complexity of the researcher/researched dynamics where a multiplicity of factors are at work. First, the researchers’ individual experiences and background affect all the stages of research including choice of theoretical underpinnings, development of research design, and their relationship with the participants (Gilgun, 2010). Further, when, as in this study, multiple languages and intercultural communication are part of the research process, the researcher/researched dynamics become even more complex (Holmes, 2014b).

When approaching the study and reviewing the literature I realised that previous research on CCS had largely been undertaken either by Chinese mother tongue researchers, or by mixed teams where Chinese and English mother tongue researchers played a major role. As my own language position as researcher had not been contemplated, the multilingual opportunities and challenges I might encounter were not easily predictable. Neither was the relationship I might develop with the participants. In fact, in the literature on language community, researchers often argue that sharing a linguistic and ethnic background with their participants can play a significant role in gaining access and trust, as researchers can be instantly viewed as ‘insiders’ (e.g., Mau et al., 2009).

Although I have an interest in Chinese language and culture, and have lived and studied in China and Taiwan, I approached the research sites and participants

with the awareness that I would be a linguistic and cultural outsider. Thus, my experience of access, trust building, and engagement was obviously completely different from those mentioned in the extant literature, given my position as an out-group member, as neither an English nor a Chinese native/first language speaker, and my ethnic identity. At all stages I had to negotiate my presence in the sites and to build individual relationships with adults and pupils. Although I had some contacts that acted as gatekeepers and introduced me to the head teachers in both schools, I had to build relationships with people in the schools (both adults and children) in order to gain their trust and to encourage them to take part in the study. Over 14 months, I observed adults and pupils in various aspects of the setting (classes, parents meetings, events), engaged in conversations, and developed a number of friendships that lasted beyond my involvement as researcher. In Apple Valley I became a volunteer and supported the organisation of a number of events. My offer to volunteer was driven not only by the desire to gain some visibility so that people could become interested in my presence and trust me, but also by the need to feel that I blended in more. At the same time, my own experience of working with communities informed my belief that researchers need to give something back to their participants as research is a two-way process.

Although time constraints prevented my spending the same amount of time in Deer River where extracurricular activities were minimal, I still had the chance to engage with parents and teachers there in other informal settings such as parent dinners and karaoke nights. As the study developed and my efforts were successful, a number of people not only offered to be interviewed, but were also extremely supportive of my study, offering, for example, to help me with translations, I realised that my position as outsider was mitigated as people gradually made me feel part of the school communities.

Along the lines of my experience of research with the migrant women in the UK (Ganassin & Holmes, 2013), I also realised that my analysis might actually have benefitted from the fact that I did not belong to the same linguistic and cultural community as my research participants, yet also not being an insider to UK/English society myself. Arguably, this position enabled me to provide an alternative perspective on the phenomenon of CCS in England and to address questions pertaining to Chinese language, culture, and identity.

3.4.8 Criteria for judging this research

Although the literature emphasises the importance of evaluating qualitative research, there is little consensus on what such criteria evaluation should include. In this study, I align with Silverman's (2001) claim that qualitative, as much as quantitative research, can use different terms to address issues of trustworthiness.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) developed four different criteria to judge trustworthiness in research, modelling them on criteria used in quantitative research. These criteria are detailed in Table 3.3 below:

Table 3.4 Research evaluation criteria based on Lincoln and Guba (1985)

Research evaluation criteria	
Qualitative research	Quantitative research
Credibility	Internal validity
Transferability	External validity
Dependability	Reliability
Confirmability	Objectivity

Thus, I draw on the criteria suggested by Lincoln and Guba (1985) to judge the trustworthiness of this qualitative research study: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability.

Credibility

Credibility places the attention on the truthfulness of the findings and it corresponds to the quantitative concept of internal validity (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest a number of techniques to establish the credibility of a study including prolonged engagement, persistent observation, triangulation, peer debriefing, negative case analysis, referential adequacy, and member-checking.

Prolonged engagement with the schools was an important component of my study. It also enabled me to carry out 'persistent' observation as a further technique to achieve credibility. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985, p. 304): "the purpose of persistent observation is to identify those characteristics and

elements in the situation that are most relevant to the problem or issue being pursued and focusing on them in detail". If prolonged engagement provides scope, persistent observation provides depth. Being involved in the research sites consistently and in different capacities (volunteer, participant, observer) allowed me to achieve not just scope, but also depth in my observations.

Triangulation involves using multiple data sources to create understandings to ensure that the researcher's account is rich, robust, and comprehensive. In this research, I used visual and verbal methods with pupils and complemented my verbal data from adults and children with research field notes which helped me to make sense of different accounts. I took research field notes documenting both interaction between participants in different situations and my interactions and conversations with them.

Furthermore, I used peer debriefing, discussing some of my findings with doctoral colleagues both in informal discussions, which as such were not documented, and presenting my work in formal academic settings such as academic seminars, a European doctoral summer school, and a number of international conferences, including a conference in China. This formal and informal debriefing, although limited to some aspects of my work, helped me to develop a deeper understanding of some of the data and to sharpen the focus of my analysis.

Finally, my research design did not involve a second round of interviews and I did not formally implement negative case analysis, referential adequacy, and member-checking. However, during my observation sessions I took the opportunity to revisit with some of the participants their enrolment in the project, discussing and documenting their reflections as part of my researcher notes.

Transferability

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), transferability corresponds to the quantitative criterion of external validity. Transferability entails research findings being transferrable to other contexts. Researchers can enhance transferability by providing a detailed account of their field experiences in which the researcher makes explicit the patterns of cultural and social relationships and puts them in context (Holloway, 1997). Readers can then make decisions on their applicability (Kuper, Lingard, & Levinson, 2008).

The findings of this study are probably not applicable to all Chinese community schools as this study is qualitative and has a small scale. However, readers can make their own judgment and transfer my findings to the context of their own studies without generalising them.

Dependability

Dependability is concerned with demonstrating that research findings are consistent and replicable in the same context, using the same methods, and the same participants (Shenton, 2004). This study is concerned about trying to capture the diversity of human experiences drawing on a theoretical framework which defines the existence of multiple constructions of reality and appreciates the validity of different experiences of it. In phenomenological qualitative research the nature of the observed phenomena is subjective and ever-changing and, therefore, providing the same result is problematic even with the same participants, context, and methods.

Stressing the close ties between credibility and dependability, Guba and Lincoln (2005) argue that, in practice, a demonstration of the former is useful to ensure the latter. They also suggest the use of overlapping methods to achieve dependability. Guba (1981) suggests “overlap methods” (p. 86) whereby the researcher uses two different methods for collecting the data as a way to achieve dependability. As a further technique to achieve dependability and address the issue more directly, Shenton (2004) suggests viewing the research design as a “prototype model”. The researcher is encouraged to provide a) a detailed description of the research design; b) the operational detail of data

gathering, and c) a reflective appraisal of the process research evaluating the effectiveness of the process (Shenton, 2004, pp. 71-72).

I previously discussed how I achieved credibility in this study, including the use of multiple methods, as supporting the dependability of the study. Furthermore, the three stages suggested by Shenton (2004) are discussed in detail in this thesis.

Confirmability

Confirmability represents a further criterion for ensuring the trustworthiness of a qualitative research study. Confirmability equates to objectivity in quantitative research (Shenton, 2004). According to Shenton (2004), the researcher needs to “ensure as far as possible that the work’s findings are the result of the experiences and ideas of the informants, rather than the characteristics and preferences of the researcher” (p. 72). In order to ensure confirmability, Guba (1981) and Shenton (2004) suggest triangulation and arranging an “audit trail” which allows the observers to trace the course of a research step-by-step. According to Miles and Huberman (1994), the extent to which researchers acknowledge the theoretical underpinnings of their study, methods and their effect and the adoption of a particular approach, constitutes a clear criterion for confirmability. In this regard, Shenton (2004) argues that “once more, detailed methodological description enables the reader to determine how far the data and constructs emerging from it might be accepted” (p. 72).

In order to ensure confirmability, at the beginning of this chapter I discussed the theoretical underpinnings of the study illustrating how I adopted a qualitative approach. Furthermore, this chapter includes an in-depth step-by-step methodological description and the justification of my choice of methods with pupils and adults. Finally, I used participants’ checking during the interviews and focus groups to confirm or correct my understandings of what they meant in order to reduce the effect of researcher bias. I also shared findings and conclusions with participants who were interested in reading them so that they could provide me with a further perspective.

Overall, the acknowledgment of the theoretical underpinnings of this study, my position as researcher, and an accurate description of the methodological framework and choices of methods play a key role in providing trustworthiness. Furthermore, the role played both by colleagues providing feedback in formal and informal academic contexts and the role of participants in certifying my interpretations also helped me to address the four criteria. Having discussed the theoretical framework of this study and the methods that I adopted, I now turn to the description of the pilot study.

3.5 Pilot study

The decision to carry out a pilot study was based on the following interrelated reasons. First, I felt that I needed more practice in interviewing children. Although I had previously conducted research with adults and teenagers, I had no experience of interviewing or designing research aimed at participants who were under 13 years of age. Second, I wanted to check that my interview protocols, visual method prompts, and ethical consent forms were understandable to and engaging for children. A pilot study can represent an effective way of testing research instruments (Baker, 1994), a process that was particularly valuable for me as I had not encountered previous studies on community schooling where a combination of visual and verbal methods was used with pupils. Third, I hoped that a pilot study would help to uncover potential issues (i.e., issues related to participation, data collection, and analysis) that could have impacted on the main study. Next, I provide an overview of the pilot study (3.5.1) prior to discussing how its outcomes informed the development of the main study (3.5.2).

3.5.1 Overview of the pilot study

The pilot study is informed by the same methodological framework of the main study. Thus, I chose a qualitative ethnographic approach informed by the ontological perspective of social constructionism. Having made the decision to focus on pupils, I piloted the use of visual methods and focus groups prior to using them in my main study.

I piloted the study with three children—Sybil, May, and Tony—all attending the second research site, Deer River School. All pupils considered English their first language; May and Tony were also fluent Cantonese speakers. I conducted my

pilot study over the summer (August 2013) when community schools are closed. I chose these three participants as I am a friend of their mothers and I was able to arrange to meet them without accessing their school.

The data collection procedure for the pilot study was consistent with that planned for the main study (i.e., completion of visual artefacts and focus group discussion). Thus, the visual tasks were followed by a focus group discussing the drawings and exploring the prompts part of the interview protocol. However, for the pilot study, I decided to dedicate a first one-hour-meeting (including briefing and debriefing) to the visual tasks and to organise a second meeting for the focus group discussion. I wanted to give pupils the chance to think again about their visual artefacts and to complete them at home.

During the first meeting, I briefed mothers and children about the scope of the study, particularly focusing on the children and they received a consent form. I collected my data in two separate sessions with the pupils. In the first meeting I briefed the children about the study and gave them the instructions for completing the two prompts I had originally created: a cartoon storyboard and a map.

The cartoon storyboard consisted of a six blank squares and the task “Use this storyboard to represent your experience of Chinese Community School, feel free to use the space as you want with words, drawings, etc.” (Figure 3.1). For the map, I prepared blank worksheets with the task “Use this sheet of paper to draw a map of your Chinese community school, feel free to use the space as you want with drawings, words etc.” The maps were aimed at triggering reflections on their experience within their Chinese school.

Use this storyboard to represent your experience of Chinese Community School, feel free to use the space as you want with words, drawings etc.



Figure 3.1 Cartoon storyboard created by May.

The focus group took place at the second meeting. I could not audio-record the focus group as planned, because two of the children stated that they did not want to be recorded as it would have made them uncomfortable. Instead, I decided to take research field notes to document the discussion.

After the conducting the pilot study, I analysed the visual and verbal data using thematic analysis to extract themes and subthemes in my notes. The resulting data analysis drew on my notes of pupils' explanations of their drawings and thematic analysis of the three cartoon storyboards (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In the absence of recordings, the research field notes were important to support my analysis, especially to ensure that I understood what the children really wanted to represent and to have some background information on their drawings.

The small amount of data I worked on made for relatively easy and fast cross-checking of the themes the candidates identified. For the actual analysis process, I used different coloured post-it notes to create initial codes and candidate themes. At a final analysis stage, I reviewed and categorised the data under three final themes, (i.e., importance of community school as social space, importance of learning at school, pupils' engagement) prior to writing up the

findings. The data analysis process and the emerging findings are summarised in Appendix K.

A summary of the issues arising in the pilot study and their corresponding measures are described in detail below.

3.5.2 Outcomes of the pilot study

As a result of the pilot study, I realised that I had to make a number of adjustments before carrying out the main study; these concerned data collection (visual methods), data analysis, and informed consent procedures and forms. Emerging issues and the changes I made to address them are presented in Table 3.4.

Table 3.5 Overview of the pilot study: Issues and changes implemented

Overview of the pilot study	
Issue	Changes implemented
Data collection (visual methods)	<p>Completion of visual prompts and focus groups in the same session</p> <p>Changes to the prompts of the cartoon storyboards to better reflect the RQs</p> <p>Maps to be replaced with Venn diagrams</p>
Data analysis (visual data)	Visual artefacts analysed vis-à-vis the narrative of pupils to avoid misinterpretation
Informed consent procedures	Giving elder pupils the choice to use consent forms for children or adults

First, a number of methodological considerations emerged from the pilot study and helped me to adjust the data collection procedures. When initially designing the study, I thought I would give children visual prompts to complete at home in order to give them some time to complete them and to take some pressure off the classroom time. This idea proved problematic in the pilot study as participants reported it was a bit difficult for them recalling exactly what they thought when they were drawing and describing what they wanted to represent.

One child also reported that he could not complete the context map as he could not remember what the exact task was and the instructions on the template were not very clear. Hence, for the main study, I decided to carry out both the visual task and focus group session on the same day, so that the children could have had time to discuss their tasks and thus be less likely to forget what they represented.

The pilot study also helped me to rethink the visual methods and how to make them link more clearly to my research questions. To provide a more specific task, I changed the cartoon storyboards prompts to “Tell the story of one learning experience at the Chinese community school”. By focusing on just one valuable learning experience, children could explore the aims and focus of community schooling (RQ1) and what of importance it makes them learn. I realised that issues of language and culture and identity (RQ2, RQ3, RQ4) could also potentially emerge from the cartoon storyboards, as the children would be describing what elements create their experience of Chinese school and so provide some understanding of them. I retained the decision to let the children use the space as they wanted using ‘words, drawings, etc.’ in order both to maximise their opportunities of expression and to trigger the focus group discussion on languages (use of Chinese and English) and their strategic use.

The maps were also problematic and they did not seem to generate data relevant to the RQs. Before starting my research at the first site, I, therefore decided to create a map with a more targeted focus and a more specific prompt. Then, once I started attending the weekly meetings, I realised that the children were allowed to make a very limited use of the school spaces, being restricted to their own classroom and the main hall during a short break. Therefore, I realised that asking them what use they made of the actual spaces would not have generated substantial data and would most probably not have been very relevant in terms of my research questions. Rather than focusing on the school as a space, I created Venn diagrams as alternative data collection methods for pupils to compare and contrast their experiences of Chinese and mainstream schooling.

A further area of concern relates to the data analysis process of the visual artefacts. The pilot study made me realise that visual artefacts need to be

analysed in relation to the pupils' accounts. During the pilot study, discussing the meaning of their work with the children had been really important in informing the data analysis process. Not all the drawings were self-explanatory, especially those not complemented by written information. Therefore, in order to avoid speculation on meanings and contents in the main study, I decided to discuss with participants what they wanted to represent.

The last area of concern that the pilot study uncovered involved informed consent procedures and forms. Although the children appreciated being given consent forms, they suggested that the forms might have been too wordy for my younger participants and possibly too simple for the older ones. As the main study involves pupils with ages ranging from 5 to 18, it would have been impractical to create different consent forms for all the age groups. It is also arguable that competencies can differ from child to child within the same age group. The final consent forms used possibly represent an intermediate level of difficulty, as they use a simpler wording than the one for the adults and they are more visually interesting. Given the issues discussed in the pilot study, I decided to address any issues related to the consent forms by discussing them with the children. As a result, when working with teenagers, I gave them the choice to use the children's or the adults' consent form.

Summary

This chapter has presented the methodological framework that guides this study. First, I discussed why I adopted the ontological perspective of social constructionism to gain a deep understanding of participants' experiences and perception of Chinese language, culture, and identity using their own frames of reference (3.1). Second, I introduced the qualitative approach of the study and a rationale for choosing it, including a description of and rationale for ethnography (3.2). A description of the research context—two Mandarin-Chinese community schools in England (Apple Valley and Deer River)—was provided (3.3), prior to outlining the methods used in this study (3.4). The description of methods began with the presentation of the participant sample which consisted of 23 pupils—plus three who took part in the pilot study—and 18 adults (e.g., eight parents, eight teachers and two head teachers) across two sites (3.4.1). Then, I discussed the adoption of a number of qualitative

ethnographic methods to fulfil different aims: participant observation documented through research field notes, document analysis, interviews, (e.g., one-to-one semistructured interviews and focus groups), and visual methods (cartoon-storyboards and Venn diagrams) (3.4.2). Thereafter, the chapter presented the interview venues (3.4.3). The rationale for the use of thematic analysis in this study was provided (3.4.4), prior to discussing how ethical considerations concerning research with adults and children have been addressed (3.4.5). The multilingual dimension of this study, and how language choices have been informed by and influenced research relationships and research spaces, were discussed in (3.4.6), followed by the importance of reflexivity (3.4.7). The discussion of the criteria adopted for judging this research (credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability) concluded the presentation of methods (3.4.8). Finally, the chapter showed how the outcomes of the pilot study led to adjustments in the main study's data collection, data analysis, and informed consent procedures (3.5).

Informed by the methodological framework here presented, the next four chapters focus on the findings that emerged from the data and on how they answer the study's guiding research questions.

Chapter 4 Participants' perspectives on the aim and focus of Chinese community schooling

Introduction to the findings chapters

The four findings chapters (chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7) address the study's four guiding research questions. Each chapter considers and compares the perspectives of pupils, parents, and school staff across the two research sites. In the final section of each chapter, conclusions are drawn by comparing and summarising these perspectives.

The discussion of language and culture has been organised into separate chapters (chapters 5 and 6) to reflect the two main aims of the schools, and in so doing this study follows the understanding of scholars such as Valdés (1986), Byram (1997), and Kramsch (1998) that culture and language are bound together and impact on people's identity (Chen & Collier, 2012). Therefore, chapters 5, 6, and 7 need to be considered as part of the overall narrative on community schooling in which the themes of language, culture, and identity are interwoven.

Presentation of data: Highlighting and transcription conventions

As indicated in chapter 3, I worked with three groups of pupils (23 children), eight parents, two head-teachers, and eight teachers (18 adults) across two Chinese language community schools. In the coding system I gave fictional names to the research sites and to all the participants. I used English pseudonyms where participants used an English name and Chinese pseudonyms where Chinese participants identified themselves with a Chinese name. Divisions amongst participants (pupils, school staff, and parents) are always clearly defined throughout the findings discussion. I refer to myself as 'Sara'.

Table 4.1 details the transcription conventions used. These were adapted from Creese, Blackledge, and Takhi's (2014) system.

Table 4.1Transcription conventions

Speaker:	The speaker is identified each time he/she speaks
Speech	Transcribed speech
拼音	Transcribed speech (Chinese characters)
<i>Pīnyīn</i>	Pinyin transliteration
<Speech>	Translated speech
(.)	Pause of more than two seconds
(.)	Continuing intonation
?	Words spoken with a rising intonation
: "Speech"	Direct speech reconstructed by participant
CAPITALS	Loud
(XXX)	Speech inaudible
[Speech]	Missing text
{Mobile rings}	Contextual information relevant to the understanding of the context/interaction

Introduction

This chapter addresses the research's first guiding question:

How do pupils, parents, and school staff understand the aim and focus of Mandarin Chinese community schooling?

In this first findings chapter I contextualise my research by presenting the participants' perceived aim for and role of Chinese community schooling (CCS). Participants' perspectives are presented vis-à-vis the agenda of the schools that, as anticipated in chapter 3, centred on maintaining and promoting Mandarin language and Chinese culture.

The structure of this chapter is presented in the conceptual map below (see Figure 4.1); it shows the organisation of themes and subthemes and how they connect to the research question.

This chapter comprises three main sections; these describe the perspectives of pupils (4.1.), parents (4.2), and school staff (4.3) respectively. In the final section (4.4), I draw conclusions by comparing and summarising these perspectives.

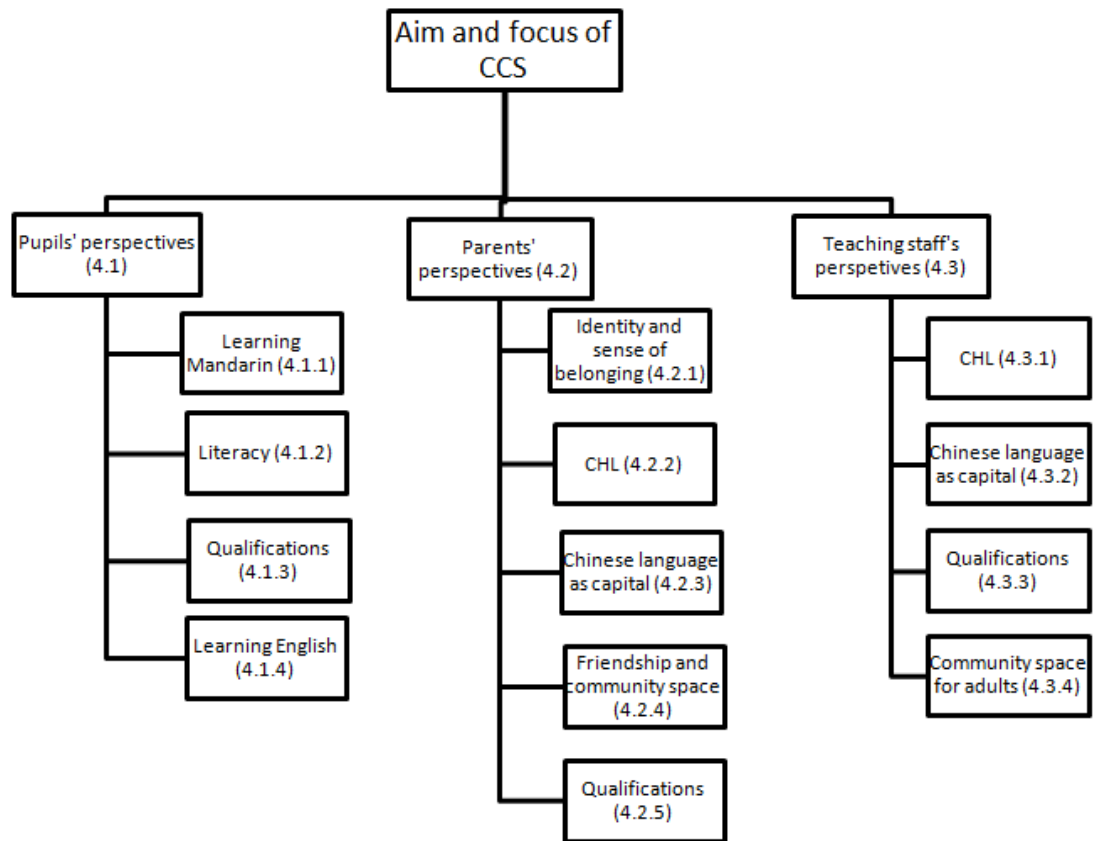


Figure 4.1 Structure of the chapter: Aim and focus of CCS.

As the conceptual map shows, the chapter's organisation reflects the structure of the first research question in that it separates out the perspectives of the three groups who participated in this study. Hence, my investigation begins with the perspectives of pupils who identified language learning—Mandarin, literacy, and English as captured respectively by themes 4.1.1, 4.1.2 and 4.1.4—as their schools' primary aim. A number of pupils also valued the provision of qualifications (4.1.3), a theme that was also recurrent in the narratives of parents and teaching staff.

Secondly, I analyse the perspectives' of parents. Although they also centred their responses on the importance of language learning at the schools—CHL (4.2.2), and language as social and economic capital (4.2.3)—they also valued the following: CCS's role in helping their children to identify as Chinese (4.2.1); the provision of a community space for the families as social capital (4.2.4); and, the support CCS gave pupils to achieve qualifications (4.2.5).

In the third part of the chapter, I investigate how staff members understood the aim and focus of community schooling across three themes that are centred

respectively on language (4.3.1 and 4.3.2), qualifications (4.3.3), and the provision of community space (4.3.4).

As is evident from the conceptual map, a number of themes (i.e., qualifications, language learning, and schools as community spaces) recurred across the different groups. How these understandings compared and contrasted will be discussed in the conclusions, and parallels will be drawn throughout the chapter.

Having outlined the structure of this chapter, I now discuss the perspectives of pupils.

4.1 Pupils' perspectives on the aim and focus of CCS

In chapter 3, I presented the agenda of the two schools. Both Apple Valley and Deer River School prioritised the transmission of spoken Mandarin and written Chinese in simplified characters alongside the importance of traditional and contemporary Chinese culture. The literature describes this focus on two core cultural and linguistic elements as a common feature of many community schools set up by migrant communities, including Chinese communities (Creese et al., 2006; Archer et al., 2010).

Thus, I was interested in exploring the perspectives of pupils, and asked them why they attended a Chinese community school. It was necessary to ask this initial question because it enabled me to create a context in which to address my other research questions and thus analyse the importance of community schooling in children's lives and its impact on their identity construction process.

I uncovered four major themes that represent the pupils' understanding of the aim and focus of CCS: being able to speak Mandarin (4.1.1); becoming literate in Chinese (4.1.2); getting qualifications (4.1.3); and, learning English in a supportive environment (4.1.4).

It can be noted that three of the themes (4.1.1; 4.1.2; 4.1.4) relate to language learning. However, because they encompass different groups of pupils (e.g., British-born and migrant pupils), and because pupils mentioned different

languages (i.e., both Chinese and English) or aspects of language learning (e.g., oracy and literacy), I analysed them as separate themes.

4.1.1 Being able to speak Mandarin

This first section discusses how the construction of CCS as Mandarin language-focused emerged consistently across the data.

First, I discuss the perspectives of the pupils who took part in FG2 and FG3, as they unanimously defined the perpetuation of Mandarin language as the main aim of Chinese schooling. The pupils in these two focus group sessions were British-born and defined English (FG2) or English and Cantonese (FG3) as their first languages, whilst the children in FG1 all had Mandarin as their mother tongue.

The following excerpt illustrates the perspectives of Kitty and Emily, two FG2 pupils. Kitty had attended Apple Valley School for 4 years, since her first year of primary school, whilst Emily came from a mixed household and had just started to attend Apple Valley:

Sara: Why do you come to this school?

Emily: To learn Chinese.

Kitty: We do it to learn Chinese obviously. Because we are Chinese.

In her answer Kitty not only made a point about the obviousness of her answer, but used the idea of a shared Chinese ethnic identity as a motivating factor. By doing so she introduced the idea that (ethnically) Chinese people need to learn Chinese in a formal learning environment.

Alice, who at the time of my data collection was teaching Chinese art at Apple Valley School, helped me to facilitate the focus group and the visual activities during her art class (FG2). In the following excerpt she asked Bella, one of the pupils, why she attended the Chinese school:

Alice: 你知道你来这个学校做什么？说中文？*Ni zhidao ni lai zhe ge xuexiao zuo shenma? Shuo zhongwen?* <Do you know why you come to the school? To speak Chinese?>

Bella: To learn Chinese and to get better at how we speak Chinese.

Leah, another pupil attending the art class added:

我来学习中文啊。 *Wo lai xuexi zongwen ah.* <I come [here] to study Chinese.>

The responses of Kitty, Emily, Bella, and Leah are representative of a very strong trend in the data from FG2. Their classmates overwhelmingly placed a strong focus on language learning in their answers, explaining that their main reason for attending the school was either to learn or improve their Chinese. Only two children advanced other primary reasons (meeting new friends and learning skills) for attending.

Similar, to those in FG1, the children in FG3 were British-born. Alan, a 12 year-old British-born FG3 child, attended Deer River School. His parents were Mandarin speakers from South Central China, and he was a moderately confident Mandarin speaker. Nevertheless, he considered the school important to improve his Mandarin:

Sara: If someone would ask you why do you go to a Chinese school what would you say?

Alan: Learning Chinese [...]

In his answer, Alan maintained the focus on language learning. All his classmates acknowledged the language-related focus of the schools and gave immediate responses to my question. For example:

Sara: If someone would ask you why do you go to a Chinese school what would you say?

Steve: Learning Chinese.

Lily and Megan: Learning Mandarin.

Six of the eight children at Deer River School, including Lily and Megan, came from Cantonese-speaking families. Some had previously attended a Cantonese community school but had moved to Deer River, as their parents wanted them to learn Mandarin. Having a fluent command of Cantonese, when I asked them

how they understood the focus of community schooling, they all prioritised Mandarin language learning.

These initial findings prove that the children who participated in FG2 and FG3, despite attending two different schools, agreed that learning Mandarin was their primary reason for attending a Chinese community school.

The findings from FG2 and FG3 are consistent with previous literature on CCS in the UK. Research findings from a study of six UK-based Chinese language schools (Francis et al., 2008) showed that the overwhelming majority of pupils (48 pupils out of 60) saw the main aim of the schools as perpetuating the Chinese language. Similarly, when I asked directly “why do you attend a Chinese school?” only two interviewees offered other major rationales.

In contrast, FG1 participants did not identify learning Mandarin as the main focus of their community school. In fact, whilst the FG2 and FG3 pupils who were British-born and defined English (or English and Cantonese) as their first language, those who were part of FG1 all had Mandarin as their first language. They were all born in China and had been in the UK for between a few months and 4 years at the time of the study. This point is illustrated in the response of Meili who was studying for her GCSE exams at Apple Valley School:

I lived in the UK for the past 4 years. Mandarin is my first language. No need to learn.

Meili and her classmates all came from Mandarin-speaking families; they had lived and been schooled in China for most of their lives. Thus, they did not identify learning Mandarin as a primary aim of community schooling, and advanced other aims (i.e., getting qualifications and English language learning), as illustrated in the next sections.

On the one hand, this section illustrates how, consistent with previous literature, British-born pupils from both Apple Valley and Deer River School overwhelmingly defined learning Mandarin as the primary focus of their community school. On the other hand, pupils who had recently emigrated from China constructed alternative aims for their school, as discussed in sections 4.1.3 and 4.1.4. Such a difference in the perception and construction of the

school's role is not confirmed by the literature, which focuses on children who were mostly schooled in the UK.

4.1.2 Becoming literate in Chinese

Becoming literate in Chinese represented a further consistently perceived aim of CCS. The analysis of the visual data reveals how all pupils, regardless their oral proficiency, were conscious that speaking Chinese does not necessarily equate to the ability to write Chinese. A number of children illustrated the importance of mastering both abilities.

The Venn diagram below (Figure 4.2) was created by Emily, an 11 year-old attending Apple Valley School. Comparing her Chinese school with her mainstream school, Emily indicated that, although only one subject is offered at the Chinese school, the teaching process focuses both on the spoken and written component (highlighted in the box: "One subject[s] that is divided in 2: writing characters and speaking").

Think about your experience at your Chinese and English school. What is similar? What is different? Draw and write what things are important to you!

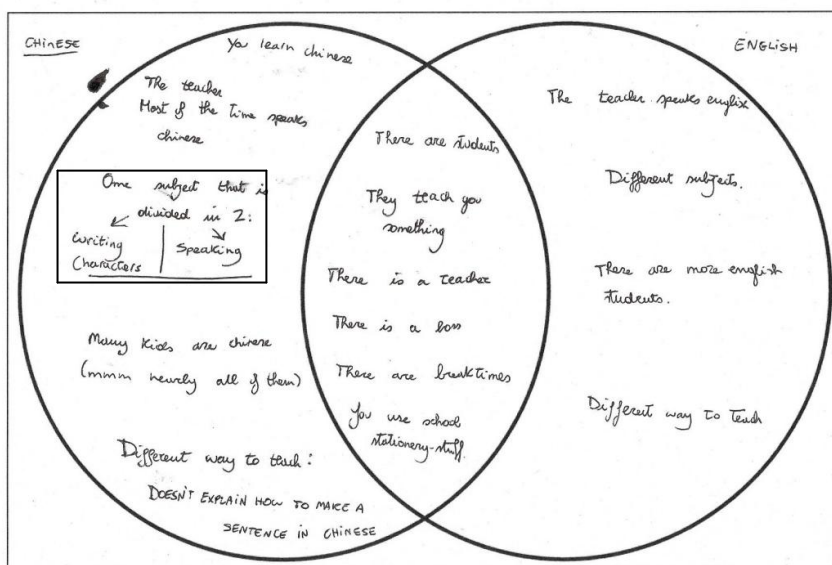


Figure 4.2 Emily's Venn diagram.

By making explicit the duality of written and spoken Chinese at the school, Emily showed how she understood Chinese spoken and written skills as separate areas of learning.

Danny's work offers a further example of how acquiring literacy skills at the Chinese school was important for pupils. In his storyboard, Danny, who participated in FG2 at Apple Valley, showed a book with Chinese characters (box 2) with the caption in English "Also we also learn about speaking Chinese and we also learn how to write Chinese":

Use this storyboard to tell the story of one learning moment at the Chinese Community School: something has made you learn about yourself, about being Chinese or anything else important for you. Feel free to use the space as you want with words, drawings etc.

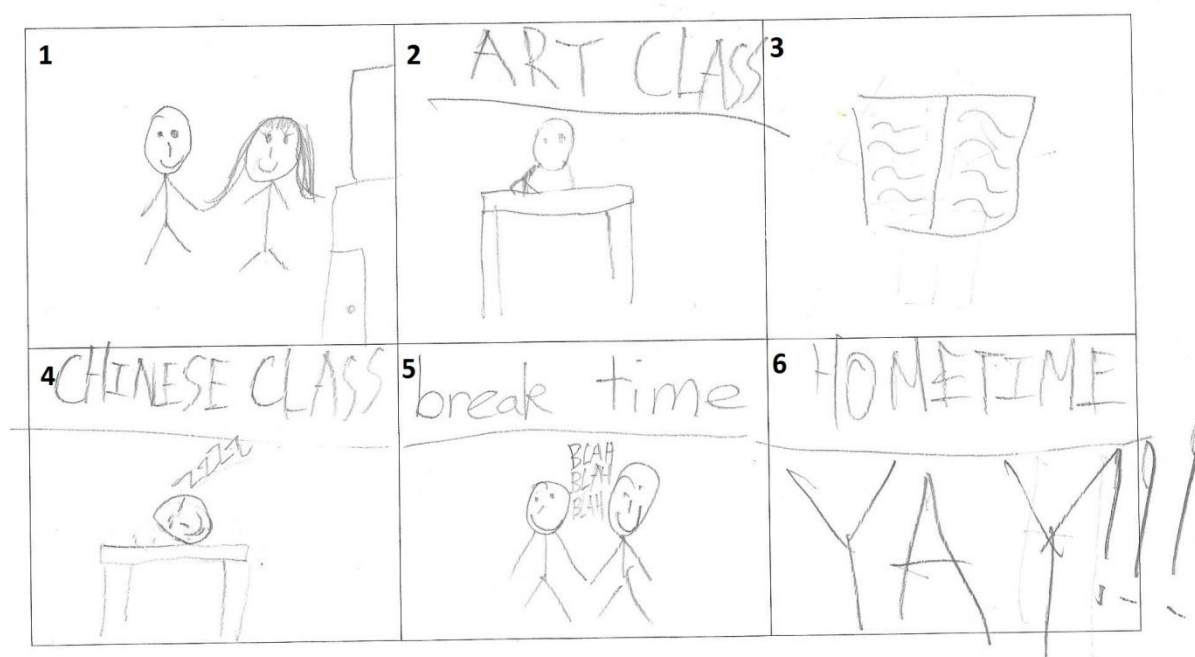


Figure 4.3Cartoon storyboard created by Danny.

Similar to Emily, Danny made a distinction between learning spoken and written Chinese at the school. Moreover, he showed his own literacy skills by writing some characters on the storyboard. Pupils made wide use of Chinese characters in their drawings; some of them expressed pride in their literacy skills and told me that they used their skills and knowledge to impress me. The following interview excerpt shows how Eva, who at five years old was the youngest (Apple Valley School) pupil, seemed particularly proud of her ability to write Chinese characters:

Sara: Oh, what have you done? OH WOW. Let me see. {Looks at the Chinese characters on the storyboard} Small. Big. {Reads the characters}.

Eva: I do Chinese at my home; that's why I am good!

Sara: Oh, you are good. How old are you?

Eva: Five.

Sara: Five and you can write in Chinese. That's good.

Teacher: {Reads the character written by Eva} Oh yes, she is good.

Sara: And do you like learning the Chinese writing?

Eva: I do. I can write them quite right.

At the time of the study, Eva was attending a Chinese preclass at Apple Valley School. She was also attending art classes. Because of her very young age, I was particularly concerned about involving her in the activities and the focus group. Nevertheless, Eva was one of the most enthusiastic participants and the fragment of conversation above shows not only her skills, but also her level of self-awareness and her understanding of the importance of writing skills in Chinese education.

All the FG1 pupils had been schooled in China till at least the age of 14 and they were fluent Mandarin speakers. However, they all saw improving their literacy was an important aim of the school. Some pupils stated that the school helped them to maintain and improve their written skills and their 语文 *yuwen* <language>. Bojing, who had moved to the UK with his family the year before my data collection, illustrated in his cartoon storyboard (below) the importance of improving his literacy skills at the community school.

As highlighted in box 2: 我在这里锻鍊了自己的写作，让我可以写出更好的作文了 *Wo zai zheli duanlian le ziji de xiezuozuo, rang wo keyi xiechu genghao de zuowen le* <Here I can practise my writing, so that I can make/improve my composition>:

1 我在中国学校的派对中上台表演了三句半,这是我第一次上台表演,它使我更自信了.	2 我在这里锻炼了自己的写作和口语,让我可以写出更好的作文了.	3 在这里学到了一些英语单词.
4 在这里交到了新的朋友	5 在这里锻炼了自己的胆识和口语	6 在这里上学感到不寂寞

Figure 4.4 Cartoon storyboard created by Bojing.

Bojing had studied in China up to the age of 16 and had a good knowledge of Chinese characters, as demonstrated by his confident use of them in his storyboard. Nevertheless, he felt that through the school he could perfect his writing and composition skills. The importance of improving their literacy skills for Chinese mother tongue pupils was confirmed by Honghui, who had also recently moved from China to the UK, as illustrated in his cartoon (box 2): 可以增强写作水平 *Keyi zengqian xiezuo shuiping*, <I can enhance [my] level of writing>:

Use this storyboard to tell the story of one learning moment at the Chinese Community School: something has made you learn about yourself, about being Chinese or anything else important for you. Feel free to use the space as you want with words, drawings etc.

1 可以参加中国某些节日所举办的节目。	2 可以增强写作水平	3 可以增强口语交流。
4 可以认识到除家人以外的中国人。	5 在中文学校同样可以更好的学习到英文。也可以跟喜欢中文的外国人互相交流。	6 还可以多一个 GCSE 成绩。

Figure 4.5 Cartoon storyboard created by Honghui.

Overall, the data presented in this section shows how pupils who participated in FG1 and FG2 perceived the perpetuation of Chinese literacy as one of the main purposes of Mandarin schooling, thus reinforcing the idea of community schooling as language-focused. However, those at Deer River School did not share the same perception. They constructed the importance of language learning at the school more generally and did not distinguish oral and written language skills.

4.1.3 Getting qualifications

A third perceived aim of CCS was getting qualifications. Both the researched schools offer the chance to prepare and sit for nationally recognised examinations (General Certificate of Secondary Education [GCSE] and A-level). Such exams represented an extra asset in the schools' offerings and they were highly valued by FG1 pupils who were all preparing for their GCSE exams in their mainstream school.

In the following interview excerpt Meili makes a strong point about the importance of being supported by the community school to achieve her Chinese GCSE:

Sara: So, if you could speak Chinese before coming to the school why do you come to the school?

Meili: I lived in the UK for the past 4 years [...]. We don't have a Chinese class [in the mainstream school], we need to pass one more GCSE.

During our conversation, Meili explained that despite having lived in the UK for nearly 4 years English was still a strong barrier for her. Concerned about being able to pass a minimum number of GCSE exams, she thought that a GCSE in Chinese, a subject not provided in her mainstream school, represented an extra asset.

Honghui's previously presented storyboard (see figure 4.5) also highlights the importance of preparing for GCSE exams at the community school. In box 6 he wrote: 还可以多一个 GCSE 成绩。 *Hai keyi duo yi ge GCSE chengji*, <[We] can also add one more GCSE result>.

Another FG1 pupil, Dewei, described getting his GCSE as the main reason for attending a Chinese school:

Dewei: I want to have GCSE Chinese.

Sara: Why do you want to have GCSE Chinese?

Dewei: You need to increase your GSCE[s] and [English]. It's [a] second language so it's more difficult to get that. You can get Chinese so you just have four [left to get].

Dewei suggested the importance of increasing the number of his qualifications by adding GSCE Chinese. Meili, Honghui, Dewei and all their classmates demonstrated how formal qualifications in Chinese are particularly valuable to pupils who have recently moved to the UK and might still struggle to perform in their mainstream schools. All the FG1 pupils vented their frustration about the challenges that they faced. For example, Jinlin had a very negative opinion about his mainstream school. In this excerpt, he describes some of the issues he encountered, to highlight the importance of successfully attending the Chinese school:

英文学校。太多了。很多压力。考试很难 [...]. *Yingwen xuexiao. Tai duole. Hen duo yali. Kaoshi hen nan.* <In the

English school it's too much. A lot of pressure. The exams are very difficult>.

During our discussion, all the FG1 pupils lamented how difficult studying in English was for them, an issue which was made worse by a mainstream learning environment that they perceived as very unsupportive. Hence, achieving a Mandarin GCSE at the Chinese school represented a way of achieving their required number of qualifications without facing the difficulties of working in a second language.

The achievement of formal qualifications through Chinese community schools also emerged as one reason for attendance in the reviewed literature (i.e., Francis et al., 2009) where British-born children saw achieving formal qualifications as a way to increase their opportunities in the job market. Furthermore, my findings suggest that getting formal qualifications could be even more important for pupils who do not have English as their first language, as through qualifications they could improve their performance in the mainstream education system. This finding is important because it introduces an as yet unexplored role of British CCS: supporting migrant children in their mainstream education by helping them to achieve formal qualifications.

The pupils who participated in FG2 and FG3 did not discuss the importance of achieving formal qualifications at the school. Arguably, they were too young to focus on formal qualifications.

4.1.4 Learning English in a supportive environment

A fourth finding emerged. FG1 participants unanimously considered learning English at the Chinese school an important reason for attending. Although at first they defined qualifications as the main focus of community schooling, a second important aim emerged around English learning and practising the language in a supportive environment.

Honghui had moved to the UK less than 2 years before my data collection. In the following excerpt, he talks about his class at the Chinese school:

Honghui: [...] In Chinese school there are few people and mostly people born in China, that's only 2 hours a week.

Sara: Do you think that is good or bad the fact that everyone was born in China?

Honghui: It's bad because most of people speak Chinese. We cannot improve our English

Sara: So you also come here to improve your English?

Dewei: Yeah and people speak Chinese and English. More time [sometimes] they speak English and more time [sometimes] they speak Chinese. [...] Chinese people we can talk to each other and know how to learn English.

Although Honghui manifested a certain disappointment at not being able to practise English at the community school as much as he wished, his classmate Dewei suggested the importance of speaking both Chinese and English in the classroom. By discussing the use of Mandarin and English in a noncompartmentalised way as “more time (sometimes) they (pupils) speak English and more time (sometimes) they speak Chinese”, Dewei reinforced the importance of CCS in supporting pupils' learning of English.

A further example of how the community school is a good place to improve English language skills is provided by Jinlin's cartoon storyboard (Figure 4.6):

Use this storyboard to tell the story of one learning moment at the Chinese Community School: something has made you learn about yourself, about being Chinese or anything else important for you. Feel free to use the space as you want with words, drawings etc.

<p>1 可以锻炼自己的中文口语能力 以至于不会被把口语说的走样。</p>	<p>2 同样可以感受到温暖。因为 这边是英国中国人很少但在中文 学校可以感受到温暖。</p>	<p>3 锻炼自己的交友能力。</p>
<p>4 开拓眼界。锻炼自己 的胆量与胆识。</p>	<p>5 可以锻炼自己的写作能力。 在准备考试的过程中</p>	<p>6 有的英语单词不认识在网上 查会有有的会看不懂但是有中 文学校就可以问问老师或者 同学可以更好的学习英语。</p>

Figure 4.6 Cartoon storyboard created by Jinlin.

The comment in box 6 explains: 有的英语单词不认识在网上查会有有的会看不懂。但是有中文学校就可以问问老师或者同学可以更好学习英语。 *You de yingyu danchi bu renshi zai wan shang cha hui you de hui kan bu dong. Danshi you zhongwen xuexiao jiou keyi wen wen laoshi huozhe tongxue keyi genghao xuexi yingyu*, <I can search online some of the English words that I don't understand, but still I cannot understand, but there is the Chinese school so I can ask the teacher and the classmates to study English better>.

Similarly to Dewei, Jinlin illustrated the importance of being at the community school with a teacher and classmates able to speak both Chinese and English as a strategy to improve his own English language skills. By discussing language problems and getting help from other multilingual people at the Chinese school, pupils like Jinlin could also get some support to tackle the language difficulties they faced in their mainstream schools.

In my literature review, I discussed community language schools as social settings where different languages are used strategically by all the informants

to accomplish and optimise teaching and learning (Martin et al., 2006). Previous studies have focused on the process of teaching and learning a particular heritage language (i.e., Cantonese, Somali, Gujarati). At the same time, they introduced the idea of language community schools as safe, multilingual environments where the pupils' use of languages is not problematised (Creese et al., 2006; Martin et al., 2006).

Providing a different perspective on language acquisition and community schooling, my findings show how the process of teaching and learning through a strategic use of English and Mandarin also has the potential to help learners to improve their English language skills. As Dewei stated, at the community school "Chinese people we can talk [to] each other and know [learn] how to learn English".

Nala, their teacher, confirmed the pupils' perspectives. Nala, who was also interviewed for this study, was teaching the GSCE class at Apple Valley School. She helped me to facilitate and translate during the focus group:

Nala: 你是觉得来这里的學生都跟你有差不多背景嗎？Ni shi jue de lai zhe li de xue sheng dou gen ni you cha bu duo Beijing ma? <Do you come here because all the students have the same background as you?>

Bojing: 就是来这里学一个科目。Jiushi lai zheli duo xue yi ge kemu. <Exactly. [We] come here to study one subject>.

Nala: They come here to learn one subject. There is no frustration because it's all people from a similar background.

Nala is fluent in both Mandarin and English and during my two observational sessions with her class she was constantly helping the students not only to translate from and into Mandarin and English but also to understand new concepts. However, it was not only the teacher who could use her own language skills to engage with the pupils; as shown by the excerpt above, the students also understood each others' challenges and were supportive and nonjudgemental (as indicated by Dewei's supportive response to Honghui above). Thus, my findings show how CCS, and particularly translanguaging across English and Chinese in the classrooms, can support the students'

learning process. Such support is particularly important for pupils who have recently immigrated to the UK, because it serves as a strategy to improve their English.

4.1.5 Summary

In summary, pupils across the two research sites understood the aim and focus of CCS in terms of language maintenance and learning (Chinese and English), and as a way to get additional qualifications (GCSEs and A-levels).

Although language was universally acknowledged by pupils as the primary focus of their school, their perceptions differed according to their own language repertoires and the skills (i.e., literacy and oracy) that they wanted to improve. Hence, consistent with previous studies on CCS (Francis et al., 2009; Creese et al., 2014), pupils centred their accounts on the importance of language learning. However, they did not focus exclusively on Chinese. Pupils who had recently left China indicated that CCS played an important role in helping them to improve their English.

Uncovering the potential role of community schools in supporting migrant children's learning of English represents the first original contribution of this study to the corpus of British literature on CCS.

Having investigated the perspectives of pupils, I now turn to the perspectives of parents.

4.2 Parents' perspectives on the aim and focus of CCS

In this section I present the perspectives of the eight parents (six mothers, two fathers) who took part in the study.

I uncovered five major themes that capture parents' understanding of the aim and focus of CCS: 1) strengthening a sense of Chinese identity and a sense of belonging in the children (4.2.1); 2) transmitting CHL to communicate with relatives (4.2.2); 3) transmitting Chinese as capital for the children's future (4.2.3); making Chinese friends and feeling connected with the local Chinese community (4.2.4); and, 4) achieving qualifications (4.2.5).

4.2.1 Strengthening a sense of Chinese identity and a sense of belonging in the children

All the parents prioritised the importance for their children's attendance at a community school as a way to form or strengthen a sense of Chinese identity and belonging to the wider Chinese community through language learning and socialisation.

As a teenager, Albert had migrated with his family from the New Territories to the UK and eventually settled in England when his family moved back to China. His two 8 and 9 year-old children had attended Apple Valley since their first year of primary school. The following excerpt from our interview shows Albert's understanding of the role of CCS:

Sara: Why have you decided to send them to the community school?

Albert: Why? I decided to send them here because when they came back from English school they asked me: "Why do I look different to any other kids?" So for that reason, you know, [is that] I want to let them know who they really are [...].

Having problematised his children's sense of being different from others in their mainly white mainstream school Albert identified the Chinese community school as offering a possible space for them to make sense of their own identity. Albert suggested a further consideration concerning the relationship between Mandarin language learning at the school and a sense of affiliation with the Chinese community i.e., although he could speak Mandarin, he was actually a Cantonese speaker.

The data showed that a desire for identification with the Chinese community was a major factor that impacted on the choice of parents to enrol their children in a community language school. This desire was, perhaps, even stronger in parents of mixed heritage children, as they felt that their children were pulled between two different identities.

For example, Lan, a mother of two mixed background children, explained that she was trying to have a conversation with her children about their identity:

I do want them to continue. It's not for the exams and it's to appreciate the community. To appreciate the Chinese culture and to appreciate what they are. It is [to] broad[en] their mind as well, I believe. When I ask [to] the old[er] one: "what do you believe? Do you believe that you are Chinese or English?" Sometimes I try to make that conversation [...].

Lan was concerned about her children's ability to "broad[en] their mind" and to make sense of their own identity and its complexity. Furthermore, she extended Albert's understanding to include the appreciation of Chinese culture and sense of community provided by the school.

The construction of Chinese schools as community spaces is extensively explored in the literature (Chow, 2004; Zhou & Kim 2006, Creese et al., 2006; Francis et al., 2010; Archer et al., 2010). Their role includes the provision of a community space for intraethnic interaction (Zhou & Kim, 2006), and the replication and appreciation of Chinese culture (Chow, 2004), as prioritised by Lan. Furthermore, Archer et al. (2010) contended that Chinese community schools provide a space away from 'minorisation' where Chinese children can affiliate and identify with the Chinese community. When explaining his daughters' question: "do I look different to any other kids?" Albert reinforced the idea of 'minorisation' as experienced by his daughters in their mainstream school by suggesting that CCS offers what Archer et al. (2010) define as "protective and remedial space" for children (p. 108).

Shuoqian, a Chinese language teacher, had moved to the UK from China after marrying her British husband. Her 10 year-old daughter started to speak Chinese only when she enrolled her in Apple Valley School. In the excerpt below, Shuoqian explained community schooling was important for her daughter to identify herself as Chinese:

It's very important to memorise and learn [understand] her identity and culture as an investment for her life so she could identify herself in the Chinese community rather than [as] just English.

As with Albert and Lan, Shuoqian shared a desire for her daughter to understand ("learn") more about herself through her involvement with the

Chinese community at the school. By bringing up the idea of 'identification' Shuoqian suggested the existence of a process shaping her daughter's identity construction. As discussed in chapter 2, in his work on identity Dervin (2013) understands identification as a process rather than a given state. Retaining characteristics of fluidity, inconsistency in identification can be reworked differently according to one's individual experiences and encounters. For Shuoqian, Lan, Albert, and all the other parents their children's involvement with the Chinese school was mainly aimed at reinforcing their sense of being Chinese by affiliating with the community provided by the school.

Their views were echoed by Chloe at Deer River School, who had moved from Malaysia to the UK to study and settled in England after marrying her Spanish husband. She was a Hokkien speaker with a good command of both Mandarin and Cantonese. During our interview she explained why she had enrolled her 5 year-old daughter in the school:

In the end for me the main purpose to bring her to school is for her to know that she is Chinese. She has to learn the language and feel Chinese; also she is always proud that her mum is Chinese. She always says: "oh my mum is Chinese" which is good. She always tells all the teachers and all the friends. Even to Valentina [daughter's friend] she says: "Can you speak English? Can you speak Chinese? I go to Chinese school". She is very proud. This [is] how I want her to be.

Chloe prioritised the role of the school in reinforcing a sense of Chinese identity in the pupils, particularly, but not exclusively, through language teaching. Influenced by her own sense of having a Chinese identity, Chloe thought that through community schooling her daughter could construct her own sense of being Chinese. Analysis of Chloe's excerpt reveals she also introduced a concept of pride related to Chinese identity and language proficiency, suggesting that being part of a community school could enable her daughter to achieve a favourable Chinese in-group membership.

Issues of identification emerged in my findings as playing a fundamental role in the parents' choice to enrol their children in a community school. All the parents who took part in my study saw the provision of a community space that

supported identification and a sense of belonging as the primary purpose of Chinese schooling. This aim came across in all the parent interviews irrespective of the school their children attended.

4.2.2 Teaching Chinese as heritage language to communicate with relatives

Parents from Mandarin-speaking backgrounds were equally concerned about the role of CCS in transmitting Chinese as a heritage language (CHL) to pupils so that they could communicate with Mandarin-speaking relatives. As discussed in chapter 2, the corpus of literature on HL learning tends to consider the learners' proficiency as an asset which is needed for effective communication within families and communities (Fishman, 2001), and fostered through family and community efforts (He, 2010). The findings illustrated in this section describe how language maintenance for communication purposes was seen by parents as one of the main aims of CCS.

Judith was the mother of two mixed heritage (English and Chinese) children attending Apple Valley School. During our interview, she expressed the desire for her children to learn Mandarin in order to be able to communicate with her family. Despite her efforts to speak Mandarin with her children and get them interested in the language at home, Judith felt that the community school was fundamental for them:

I think that it's very important for them to come to the school and learn my language; basically all my family is still in China; they have to keep on communicating with them; maybe one [day] they [may] want to go back and live [in] there but for that reason you need to have the basic skills. If you can communicate with people you can do that, otherwise you don't.

Judith mentioned the importance of Mandarin for communicating with her relatives in China, stressing its emotional value as her own language and its importance in making her children feel connected with her family and heritage.

Another mother, Selina, had moved from China when she got married and at the time of the study she lived alone with her daughter who had a very limited

command of Mandarin. In this excerpt she explained why she enrolled her child in Apple Valley School:

It's my own language. Mommy is Chinese [...] of course she can go home and talk to my parents in Mandarin.

In her answer Selina, similarly to Judith, identified one focus of community schooling for her as the transmission of CHL, so that her daughter could communicate with her parents.

Drawing on Van Deusen-Scholl's work (2003), I defined heritage language (HL) learners as "a heterogeneous group ranging from fluent native speakers to non-speakers who may be generations removed, but who may feel culturally connected to a language" (p. 221). According to Selina, her daughter had very little command of Mandarin; nevertheless she could be defined as a HL learner because she had cultural connections with the Chinese language and some degree of exposure to it in her family.

Philip, a professional from China, also considered the transmission of CHL the main aim of CCS. His accounts show that a desire for his children to engage with their grandparents drove him to enrol his daughters in community schooling:

In the world, we Chinese are like the Jewish. We are keen into [on] our traditions. If you go to China and can't speak Chinese is big trouble. If the child goes back to China and they don't speak Mandarin then they cannot speak with our parents. Also, we are proud of our culture.

By linking a sense of cultural pride with language proficiency and communication with relatives, Philip extended Selina's understanding of Chinese language learning at the community school.

Despite the fact that both Philip and his wife were Mandarin speakers, and Mandarin was the main language spoken in their family, he pointed out that their children had little desire to use Mandarin before they joined the school:

Philip: Well, see, the thing is, as the children were born here even if me and my wife speak Mandarin at home, the children are not keen to learn.

Sara: They just want to speak English?

Philip: Yeah. They watch TV programmes which are English-based. Well, the older daughter, we tried to teach her Chinese but before she came here she was not interested at all.

Although Philip's children were consistently exposed to Mandarin, as HL learners are "people raised in a home where one language is spoken who subsequently switch to another dominant language" (Polinsky & Kagan, 2007, p. 368), they manifested no desire to learn or speak the language, despite the efforts of their parents, until they began to attend a Chinese community school. Thus, my findings—as illustrated by the positions of Philip, Selina, and Judith—demonstrate how Chinese community schools can give extra support to parents in teaching CHL. In fact, unlike mother tongue acquisition in a monolingual environment, the HL is in constant competition with the dominant language of the local community (He, 2010). A number of parent participants in my study problematised the dominance of English in their children's lives. The findings show how parents understand community schooling as a force to counteract the dominance of English and as a way to provide extra support to the families in their efforts to raise their children as Mandarin speakers.

4.2.3 Chinese language as capital for the children's future

Bourdieu (1984, 1986, 1989) understands capital as a valuable, legitimate, and exchangeable resource that can generate social advantage. In this section, I draw on the work of Bourdieu to analyse parents' understanding of the Chinese language skills provided by the school as capital for their children's future. Bourdieu (1986) defines four types of capital: economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital, which are constructed over time and interact to determine the individual's position within a particular social context. Economic capital relates to financial resources and is institutionalised in the form of property rights. Cultural capital refers to familiarity with the dominant culture in a society. Social capital refers to the actual or potential resources which are linked to the possession of a durable (social) network or in-group membership (Bourdieu, 1986). Finally, Bourdieu defines symbolic capital as "the form that the various

species of capital assume when they are perceived and recognised as legitimate” (1989, p. 17).

The construction of Chinese language learning at the community school as capital defined as a resource to generate advantage (e.g., economic or social advantage), is consistently present in the data. At the same time, participants’ narratives often encompassed more than one form of capital and so it is not always possible to make distinctions between them.

Selina illustrated the advantages offered by Mandarin, and more generally by foreign languages, as additional credentials for pupils to facilitate future opportunities:

Sara: Why have you enrolled your daughter in the Chinese school?

Selina: [...] I would also like her to learn more languages too.

It’s good for the children that they can speak different languages. You never know in the future. If they can do that.

That’s great, it opens so many doors [...].

Foreseeing future opportunities for children who speak different languages, Selina showed how Chinese is not only useful for her daughter to communicate with the family (4.2.2), but that it represented a further asset as it “opens so many doors”. As her reference to the opportunities offered by a diverse language repertoire was rather vague, it is not possible to ascertain if she understood language as social capital (e.g., offering opportunities to travel and enhance one’s social network) or economic capital (e.g., bringing career opportunities and, therefore, economic return). However, an instrumental construction of the role of Chinese language emerges in her narrative in terms of the language’s potential to provide her daughter with a variety of opportunities in later life.

Selina’s pragmatic understanding of the benefits of learning Chinese was echoed by Shuoqian:

Chinese is very good in modern society. That’s essential for Chinese people. That’s all. [...] China is more and more important.

Shuoqian was motivated by the rise of China as an international superpower and the related opportunities that brought for Chinese-speaking people.

Albert was also concerned about the importance of Mandarin for his children's future in relation to the economic opportunities offered by an affiliation with China. In the following excerpt, he explained how he motivated his daughters to study Mandarin:

[...] It's extra [work] for you but it might help you in the long term. As you know now China is developing very quickly. I am sure that by the time they get older there is a lot of opportunities. If you are in that part of the world [China] if you can speak the tongues and read the words, I am sure that there is more going on [in] Asia than in Europe.

Albert's children were confident Cantonese speakers; nevertheless, he was particularly concerned about the importance of their mastering Mandarin, as doing so offered them more opportunities and thus potential social and economic capital. Furthermore, he valued the school's ability to provide children with additional social capital through the acquisition of 'Chinese' behaviour:

They learn how to write, how to read, it might not be as good as what they actually learn from China or Hong Kong or anywhere in Asia but there is still something they can gain from [it], even though, the teachers, they will teach them how to behave in the class. [...]. I do feel that, they are a little bit more respectful, let's put it that way.

By highlighting the importance of becoming "more respectful", Albert indicated his belief that the school did not just help the children to gain language proficiency, but could also help them to improve as individuals.

Chloe also discussed the value of her daughter's learning Chinese in terms of both increasing her language skills and self-improvement. At first, she focused on language as a skill, and, arguably, a form of social or economic capital, explaining that:

It is important not only to know her culture but also [that] she knows an extra language not just English and Spanish, it's an extra skill.

She then explored the further possibility that Mandarin was capital; that is, knowledge of the language meant one could access knowledge only available in Chinese:

[...] Also, so many Chinese books are never translated to English or Spanish. These books are very rare. They have knowledge of thousand years, like poetry and literature. It's important for her as [a] person. Like in Chinese we always strongly value family. Respect the elderly. Take care of the children. How do you behave in school; it's all in the books. It's like the Bible for you. Like religion. You don't need to learn it all but you take the major teachings.

As described above, knowing Chinese is the key to accessing a body of literature not available in any European language. Such literature is important in terms of personal development, as it provides “major teachings” that can guide the individual to be a better person. By suggesting the importance of traditional Chinese texts for self-improvement, Chloe reinforced the idea that not only culture, but also behaviour can be formally taught to the younger generations, and that community schools might offer a space for such a process of transmission. Hence, Chloe, similarly to Albert, constructed the possession of social and cultural capital as the ability to internalise the Confucian traditions she referred to (i.e., “value [the] family”) as central to her view of Chinese “culture”.

As previous studies demonstrated, Chinese parents generally place a very high value on education not only in terms of gaining credentials, but also because of its intrinsic value as part of a broader personal development process (Francis & Archer, 2005b; Francis et al., 2010). Consistent with the literature, the parents in my study constructed education at the Chinese school as cultural and social capital which included both a language dimension and was important in helping their children to understand and internalise Chinese traditions and values.

4.2.4 Friendship and schools as community spaces

As discussed in 4.2.1, parents described Chinese language schools as important spaces for their children as they enable them to identify with the wider Chinese community. In this section, I extend such a construction to explore how parents too valued the provision of a community space for adults as a place to make friends and feel less isolated.

Shuoqian had moved to the UK from a large metropolitan area of China. Her husband had no command of Mandarin and, having no family in the UK, she expressed a sense of isolation. In her interview, she explained how the community school had helped her to feel less lonely:

I am happy that I found the [Chinese] school. Last year I was very isolated. I am the only one who speaks Mandarin in the house. Some parents enrol their children to make friends [...] in this country we are always with the English community but bringing the child here makes you feel closer to the Chinese community.

In sharing her experience, Shuoqian suggested that community schooling is important for adults as it allows them to meet other people and feel part of the Chinese community.

Philip was not only concerned about his daughters' disinclination to speak Chinese; he also discussed his own difficulties as a migrant in England. Living in a largely white area, he found a space in his community school to make new friends. He explained:

Before I came to Chinese school I didn't have Chinese friends [...]. Before I moved here I lived [name of town] and I used to go to the church and all our friends were English people so until now in the school we didn't have any Chinese friends. So now I live in [name of town] where only [name of friend] is nearby and my wife is not working. She looks after the children.

Meeting with other Chinese people at the Chinese school was important for Philip and his wife, who spent most of her time at home and had a limited command of English.

Having no family members in the UK other than her British husband and their children, Judith also emphasised the importance of community schooling for herself and the other adults:

Judith: The school is important for parents. Maybe for some of them; I don't know the different reasons for other people but for me it is.

Sara: So do you like coming to the school and being with other Chinese people?

Judith: Yes, when you communicate with your first language it's much easier. You talk and you basically know your culture. It just comes out, things that like sometimes. Where you come from. It's just very interesting when it comes all together. Yes, I do. Maybe some people don't have other Chinese friends at all. It depends on where you live or where your friends are from. It might be a problem to make friends to feel: "oh I still got a part of Chinese in me". Sometimes you can be lonely if you live in a different country.

Without any Chinese relatives or friends, Judith was concerned about losing touch with her Chinese identity. Hence, sharing language and culture with people at the Chinese school supported her in overcoming her sense of loneliness. From a social constructionist perspective, HL competence is achieved not only through the command of lexicon, grammar, and syntax, but also through the understanding of norms, preferences, and expectations in different contexts and with different interlocutors (Polinsky & Kagan, 2007). Thus, Judith constructed a complex view of CHL competence as embracing both language proficiency and meaningful communicative practices. The coexistence of both dimensions at the school where she could meet with other Chinese people allowed her to feel connected to a Chinese community and even to re-enforce her own sense of Chinese identity. The construction of Chinese community schools as communities is extensively explored in the literature (Chow, 2004; Zhou & Kim 2006, Creese et al., 2006; Francis et al., 2009; Archer et al., 2010). Their role includes the provision of a community space for intraethnic interaction (Zhou & Kim 2006) and the replication and appreciation of Chinese culture (Chow, 2004).

This section complements the analysis presented in 4.2.1 by defining the schools as important community spaces not only for pupils but also for their for the parents. Discussing how adults understand the role of CCS, Francis et al. (2009) argue these schools represent a form of social capital, as they also constitute “a gathering place for the community” (p. 108). The idea of their provision of social capital for the whole family is consistently present in my findings, thus confirming the importance of community for children and parents alike.

4.2.5 Achieving qualifications at the school

Two parents—Lan and Shuoqian—identified the achievement of formal qualifications as one of the aims of CCS. Qualifications were considered important not just as cultural capital, but also as a formal acknowledgement of the language skills acquired through community schooling.

Lan’s elder son was attending Apple Valley School, and despite his fluency in Mandarin, she valued the importance of children getting formal qualifications:

His [her son’s] Mandarin is actually quite good, spoken Mandarin. But not his reading and writing is not as good. But I am determined, so he is going to have his GSCE and he has to choose Mandarin.

Shuoqian echoed Lan’s perspective. Despite the young age of her children, she wanted them to be able achieve formal recognition of their Mandarin language skills in the future, as illustrated in the following excerpt:

Sara: What do you want the children to achieve through the school?

Shuoqian: Achieve, for example, for exam[s] results it’s a start. If they could, I wish that they could go further after to achieve a certain exam result for AS [GSCE] and A-levels.

As suggested by the focus group sessions with the children presented in 4.1, parents often represented the driving force behind their children’s attendance at the Chinese community schools. Lan and Shuoqian valued not only Chinese language education, but also the formalising of their children’s achievements through the gaining of recognised qualifications.

4.2.6 Summary

Analysis of the findings showed that parents revealed a multiplicity of aims and foci for CCS. First, all the participants identified the primary aim of CCS as the maintaining and reinforcing of a sense of Chinese identity in their children (4.2.1).

Second, the opportunity to learn Mandarin as their HL to enable inter-generational communication (4.2.2) was identified as an equally important aim of CCS. A number of parents pointed out the difficulties that they faced in keeping Chinese alive in their families and discussed how the schools were supporting their children.

Third, a number of parents discussed the role of the schools in creating capital in various forms (i.e., social, economic, cultural) for their children and thus contributing towards their personal development (4.2.3).

Further, the findings showed that parents valued the provision of a space where they could make Chinese friends and feel part of the local Chinese community (4.2.4), especially as the majority of the participants lived in largely white English areas. This finding adds a further element to the construction of the schools as community spaces. It defines them as social capital not just for the children, but also for their parents.

Finally, two parents noted the importance of formal qualifications as an additional focus of CCS (4.2.5).

4.3 School staff perspectives on the aim and focus of CCS

This section investigates how the school staff members in this study understood the aim and focus of Mandarin CCS. The eight participants (six teachers and two head teachers in the two schools) discussed parents' and children's expectations about CCS and how these were accommodated or contrasted within their teaching practices. Furthermore, I referred to the schools' mission statement and governing documents when asking teachers, and particularly head teachers, to comment on the official perspective of the schools, particularly in terms of their aims and values, and to compare them with their own goals as educators.

Four major themes emerged from the analysis: perpetuation of CHL as regards intergenerational communication and identification (4.3.1); Chinese language as capital for the pupils' future (4.3.2); offering of qualifications (4.3.3); and, provision of a Chinese community space for the adults (4.3.4).

4.3.1 Perpetuation of CHL: Intergenerational communication and identification

The perpetuation of CHL was universally identified by teachers and head teachers as the key aim of CCS. In 4.2 I discussed how HLs carry particular family relevance and how the term suggests affiliation with an ethnolinguistic group (Fishman, 2001; He, 2010) regardless of the learners' actual level of proficiency.

As did parents, teaching staff prioritised the perpetuation of CHL at the schools. On the one hand, they were motivated by the importance of Chinese language as a means of supporting intergenerational communication, and, on the other, by a desire to help pupils develop a sense of identification with the wider Chinese community.

Joy, a Taiwanese teacher who worked at Deer River School, prioritised the perpetuation of CHL as the main aim of community schooling, saying:

The main aim is for the children to speak Chinese. My child speaks Mandarin. It's important. When we go back to Taiwan she needs to speak the language to communicate with my parents. They can't speak a word of English. Also with the cousins, the same thing, although they are learning English. When Christine [daughter] was young her cousins spoke with her in Mandarin. She understood but when she spoke it wasn't proper so the other children didn't want to play with her anymore and she was crying. Learning Mandarin is good; children need to communicate with the family.

In sharing her own concerns as a parent, Joy stressed the importance of learning Chinese as a way to bridge communication and make children feel connected with their families.

Nala—who was teaching the GCSE class at Apple Valley School—discussed the school’s focus on CHL teaching in relation to the parents’ expectations:

I think that the parents think that for the children [it] is good to learn Chinese because they[’ve] all got [the] relatives, you know, grandparents that cannot speak English and if they are not able to speak Chinese it would be a big barrier of communication between the generations.

Other teachers also stressed the importance of facilitating intergenerational communication and connection with the families in China through language teaching.

For example, at Apple Valley School Alice explained:

If parents at home speak Chinese and your children can’t speak Chinese you can’t keep contact. You can’t understand each other when they speak [...]. Some parents want them to learn Chinese because they might bring them [children] back to China, and to play with local children. That’s why it’s very interesting and important to learn Chinese.

Teachers tended to discuss the aim and focus of CCS in terms of the parents’ expectations. As Joy, Nala, and Alice explained, parents saw the teaching of CHL as important because the language enabled their children to engage with family, friends, and other Chinese people. For example, teachers stated that CHL was important in migrant families for parent-children communication and to bridge a gap with the elderly.

Head teachers also prioritise the transmission of CHL as a key aim of the school. The head teacher of Deer River School discussed the aims and strategic direction of the school both as a parent and in relation to the official perspective of the school. The head teacher highlighted the importance of teaching CHL:

The real goal is for the children to be reconnected to their Chinese heritage and to be able to communicate with their Chinese families orally. Using Chinese and hav[ing] a good foundation to write and read basic Chinese to the extent that, if they are interested when they grow older, they can expand on that.

In 4.2.1 I illustrated how parents constructed community schools as suitable spaces for children to become more interested in the language and feel connected with the local Chinese community. The head teacher reiterated this idea, adding that the schools could provide invaluable peer-support to parents who were otherwise struggling to keep their children connected to their Chinese family heritage:

I can speak for myself. I don't want them to lose their Chinese heritage. I need some peer pressure system that would motivate me, also to motivate my teaching.

Along the same lines, the head teacher of Apple Valley School also suggested the perpetuation of CHL as the key aim of CCS:

[...] If you want to maintain it [Chinese] by yourself it's difficult, because you have these social aspects of learning by communicating with other people. So that's places like Chinese schools as spaces for people to come together and learn from each other rather than just from media and the book.

This account extends an understanding of the schools as community spaces which include the importance of the social dimension of learning, as people "come together and learn from each other". Thus, CHL perpetuation is the result of a collective effort at the schools.

4.3.2 Perpetuation of Chinese language as capital for the pupils' future

Following the discussion in 4.2.3, the idea of language as capital also emerged from the teachers' accounts.

Joy was a Taiwanese language teacher at Deer River School. As both an educator and the mother of two mixed heritage children she was concerned about the importance of Chinese community school attendance. In the following excerpt she discusses how fluency in Chinese might represent a credential for the children's future:

Everybody sees the economic importance of China in the future, for people who are bilingual and [they] speak Mandarin as well as English, it would be really good and easy for them to get a job.

Joy constructed Chinese language learning at the community school in terms of cultural capital that could enable the children to access opportunities in the future. Alice, who was teaching at Apple Valley School, shared Joy's understanding, arguing that the schools aim to provide their pupils with social capital by strengthening their Chinese language skills:

Another reason [to enrol children] is that if you could [can] speak two languages you could [can] get more opportunities in the future because China is developing very quickly.

Alice saw the fast economic growth of China as another reason contributing to the importance of learning Chinese, as bilingual children could be more competitive and access better employment opportunities. Ting, a teaching coordinator at Deer River School, also mentioned the provision of cultural and economic capital through language teaching as the aim of CCS. She explained:

Another one [aim of Chinese community schooling] is to master Chinese to help them in the future, to find a job and help them to find a better life.

Consistent with the literature that investigates teachers' constructions of the aims and benefits of community schooling (e.g., Francis et al., 2010), this study's participants made frequent references to economic rationales. The majority of the teachers in my study constructed Chinese in terms of cultural and economic capital which could facilitate future opportunities and careers, evoking what Francis et al. (2010) call "ethnic capital to benefit pupils' saleability in the global labour market" (p. 107). However, in constructing Chinese language as capital participants were equally concerned about Chinese as broader cultural capital which would, as Ting suggested, "help them [children] to find a better life".

The two head teachers did not mention the economic importance of China and Chinese language as a major focus of their schools. However, they acknowledged that these could be a motivating factor in the eyes of the parents. In this excerpt, the head teacher of Apple Valley School commented that the economic value of Chinese language was potentially another reason for parents enrolling their children in CCS:

They [families] probably think that the children could find a job in China. Do business in China or that they could speak another language.

The other head teacher reiterated the point that the parents' perception of Chinese language as economic capital was one of the main factors influencing the pressure on enrolments, although creating economic capital did not necessarily represent an actual aim of the school:

For families, I think that they perceive Chinese as a useful skill set for the children's future.

Consistent with the literature, the staff members in my study referred to economic rationales and the vision of Chinese as cultural and economic capital to explain the role of Chinese schooling. These participants were particularly concerned about parents' envisaging Chinese as an economic and professional credential. However, while the teachers saw perpetuating Chinese language as a key aim of community schooling, the head teachers distanced themselves from this position, and merely acknowledged that economic rationales do influence enrolment.

4.3.3 Offering qualifications

As previously discussed, a number of parents constructed CCS in terms of credentials, particularly valuing the opportunity it afforded for their children to achieve formal qualifications. The school staff agreed the provision of formal qualifications was one of the offerings provided by their schools and the excerpts below capture some of their views.

The head teacher of Deer River School indicated that offering exams as part of the curriculum was one of the aims of the school:

For the school, our immediate goal is being able to complete the curriculum so that every student is able to pass their GCSE.

Ting, a teaching coordinator, echoed this perspective:

We have two main clear achievements. One is about helping them with GCSE tests.

A pragmatic, exam-focused construction of the role of community schooling was also provided by a number of teachers at Apple Valley School.

Alice teaches Chinese to primary school-age pupils and, although exams are not yet relevant for her students, she was aware of the importance of offering qualifications at the school:

My class, that is class 3 because the children are really small, so if they grow up they absolutely have to take these exams, GCSE, A-levels, they want to use these skills to learn Chinese. Our chairman [head teacher] said about these exams, it's really good for the school if we can find children undertaking them, it attracts people.

In reiterating the perspective of the head teacher, Alice emphasised that qualifications were one of the foci of the school and part of the school's marketing strategy as offering exams "attract[s] people".

Her colleague Rose also described how the school focuses on exams and results. In the following excerpt, she discusses the school goals in relation to her own teaching practice:

I think that the school's main goal is passing the exam, like A-levels or GCSE. So what we do is giving the foundations. Maybe the more knowledge, the better [it] is for them. However, I try to motivate the children, to make things more interesting in that way.

As Rose stated, she tried to keep the children motivated and engaged despite the school's focus on qualifications. Similarly to Alice, she suggested the parents' expectations and the school's goals were not necessarily a priority that reflected her own goals as an educator. Nevertheless, during our conversation Rose added that following the school's goals was her primary focus:

My personal focus is that you have to follow the school goals first maybe adding a little bit on top. The school's goal is basically just take the exams in the end, GCSE and A-levels, [to] give them an actual certificate that the children can use to achieve a better result or to go to a better school or university. Whatever it is, of course, we got to follow that routine. Like all the schools have their own goals. Like pass the exams. You have the sets. You have to take exams. You

have to follow the order in the curriculum so obviously that's a way of testing the children's knowledge. I think that all the schools follow the same system.

Having direct experience of both mainstream and language community schooling, Rose argued that, despite their formal separateness, they are similar in their system. In the literature review, I discussed how community schools retain a strong independence from the mainstream system mainly due to their lack of government funding. However, the teaching staff who participated in my research did not seem to fully share this vision of community schooling as nonexam-driven. Instead, they saw CCS as being modelled on the values and structures of mainstream schooling and, arguably, equally legitimated by the existence of a solid curriculum and exams.

Finally, Rose argued that exams are not just a way of assessing knowledge, but also an easy way for the parents to know what their children have been learning:

I think that it's parents who want to know what they have been learning [...] To show them what they are achieving, I think that the certificate is the easiest thing. Of course, if you can talk, that's good but you need to have it assessed. Unfortunately this is the way the society is even if I don't agree.

Rose distanced herself somewhat from the focus of the school on exams, as it did not necessarily reflect her own goals as an educator, and because she thought that focus resulted more from the parents' desires and the choice of community schooling to conform to the mainstream education system.

In the same school, Nala was preparing her pupils for their GCSE exams. She also stressed the school's focus on qualifications but took a slightly different perspective:

Now I am teaching GCSE and all the pupils got Chinese GCSE A* so it puts them in a good position to apply for sixth form college and beyond. Loads of the children feel good especially if they are not born here; they have difficulties in achieving in other subjects but Chinese is always guaranteed to make them feel good.

In 4.1.3 I discussed the potential role of CCS in supporting migrant children in their mainstream education by supporting their achievement of formal qualifications. Nala drew on her experience of teaching young Chinese migrants to reinforce this particular focus of the school. Furthermore, she presented the benefit of qualifications in terms of pupils' self-esteem.

In conclusion, a number of teaching staff identified qualifications as one of the foci of CCS. On the one hand, these participants did not particularly concede the intrinsic importance of qualifications in terms of language learning, as qualifications do not necessarily correspond to language proficiency. On the other hand, they acknowledged the value of offering qualifications both to cater for the desires of parents concerned about formal recognition of their children's learning and as a marketing strategy to profile the school. Finally, qualifications were also considered important for children who had recently come from China, as they offered these children a greater opportunity to progress in mainstream education and gain self-confidence.

4.3.4 Provision of a Chinese community space for the adults

In 4.2.5 I discussed how parents valued the provision of a community space at the schools, not just for their children but also for themselves. This view was echoed by a number of teachers. For example, Alice explained how the schools are important for parents:

Alice: Just like community. [In] some places like the community school people mix with each other. I have heard some parents saying that is important for them. You know some housewives. Their lives are very simple. It is the same as if you live in China. For them [CCS] is very important to get a sense of community and make more friends.

Alice was particularly concerned about the situation of the Chinese housewives and their difficulties in making friends. Her colleague Nala also suggested the importance of CCS as a community space for new migrants:

I think that a lot of parents feel that as new immigrants they feel lost and lonely. They cannot completely integrate into the society here. Because of the different life and

experience sometimes people look for some likeminded people gathering together and share some life experiences.

Similarly to Alice, Nala stressed the importance of community schooling as a safe hub for adults to overcome feelings of being “lost and lonely” in the local community. Their construction evokes the idea of social capital offered by Chinese schools discussed by Francis et al. (2010) who define them as “a gathering place for the community” (p. 108).

4.3.5 Summary

As with parents, teachers and head teachers described a multiplicity of aims and foci for CCS.

Four themes have been discussed. First, the school staff defined language learning as the primary aim of community schooling and they identified two language-related foci: the perpetuation of CHL for communication and identification purposes (4.3.1); and, Chinese language as capital for the children’s professional and economic future (4.3.2). Qualifications constituted a further focus and a response to the parents’ desire to see their children’s language proficiency acknowledged (4.3.3). Finally, a number of participants discussed how the schools represent a form of social capital, as they constitute important gathering places not just for children, but also for adults (4.3.4).

Overall, analysis of the findings on their perspectives showed that school staff members were largely concerned about accommodating the needs and desires of parents. Teachers seemed concerned about taking forward the school mission regardless of their own personal views on it, describing how they followed rather than contributed to the school agenda.

Head teachers on their side had a clearer understanding of the school agenda and presented the aims and objective of community schooling by drawing on the official position of the school. However, head teachers too seemed highly concerned about catering for parents’ needs (e.g., providing qualifications).

Despite having their own opinions on what the school should focus on, both teachers and head teachers prioritised the needs of the families. Thus, participants understood the focus and aims of their Chinese community school

in terms of the accommodation of a multiplicity of needs and desires of families and particularly parents.

Having investigated the perspectives of these three groups of participants, I now turn to the conclusions of this chapter.

Summary and conclusions

This chapter has investigated participants' understandings of the aim and focus of CCS. I analysed the perspectives of children (4.1), parents (4.2), and teaching staff (4.3) separately, in line with the structure of the first research question.

A number of conclusions can be drawn from the discussions in this chapter.

The first conclusion reveals that language teaching and learning was universally acknowledged by participants as the primary focus of CCS. As they focused not only on Chinese, but also on English, pupils and parents had different motivations. On the one hand, pupils considered Mandarin language learning at the school as an asset for their professional future or for communication with their families. Pupils who had recently emigrated from China also suggested that Chinese community schools could represent a supportive space in which to learn English and study towards qualifications. On the other hand, parents also made explicit connections between language learning and affiliation with Chinese culture and sense of identity. As Byram (2013) argues, language can function as a social identifier that distinguishes the individual as part of a certain in-group and thus as distinct from other out-groups. The explicit connection between Mandarin language and Chinese in-group identity made by the parents suggested that Mandarin can be seen as a primary identity marker amongst Chinese families, even when they have other varieties of CHL (e.g., Hokkien, Cantonese). Although the majority of pupils did not make explicit connections between language proficiency and identity, a number of them understood the importance of speaking Mandarin in order to be accepted by the broader Chinese community.

Overall, the focus on language perceived by participants resonates with the corpus of literature on CCS in the UK (e.g., Francis et al., 2009; 2010). However, the role of the schools in helping migrant pupils to improve their English and

their performances in the mainstream education system (i.e., ensuring they gain qualifications such as GCSEs and A-levels in Mandarin) represents the first original contribution of this study.

The second conclusion concerns the provision of capital as a perceived benefit of community schooling. In this chapter, I drew on Bourdieu's (1984, 1986, 1989) definition of capital as a resource that can generate social advantage to analyse participants' accounts of community schooling. Analysis of the findings demonstrated the ways in which participants valued the role of the school in creating various forms of social, economic, and cultural capital for both pupils and adults. For example, a number of adults constructed Chinese language learning and the overall experience of community schooling in terms of both social and economic capital (i.e., enabling pupils to access future opportunities), and in terms of cultural capital (i.e., enabling pupils to internalise Chinese values) (Bourdieu, 1986).

The third conclusion that can be drawn from this chapter concerns the importance of the schools as community spaces, an outcome that is also related to the creation of social capital. Consistent with the literature on CCS in the UK (Archer et al., 2010; Francis et al., 2009), a number of participants discussed how the schools represented a form of social capital, as they constituted important gathering places not just for children, but also for adults.

Having set the context of this study by exploring, comparing, and contrasting how participants understood the aim and focus of community schooling, the next chapter centres on Chinese language. Set against the agenda of the schools around language maintenance and transmission, chapter 5 investigates how community schooling provided a context for participants to construct understandings of Chinese language and language education.

Chapter 5 Participants' constructions of Chinese language

Introduction

This findings chapter discusses the study's second guiding research question:

How do pupils construct Chinese language(s) vis-à-vis the aims of the schools? How do teachers and parents contribute to understandings of Chinese language and language education and what ideologies lie behind such constructions?

Chapter 4 explored how pupils, parents, and school staff across the two research sites understood the aim and focus of CCS vis-à-vis the agenda of the schools, and revealed that their missions define the schools not just as educational environments but, more importantly, as self-defined cultural agents, places where Chinese language is transmitted to the younger generations and where culture is “preserved and can be experienced” (Apple Valley School's website).

In relation to the agenda of the schools around language maintenance and transmission, this chapter explores how the schools provide a context for participants to construct understandings of Chinese language as central both in the rhetoric of the schools and in the participants' narratives. Hence, the chapter investigates pupils', parents' and teachers' understandings of Chinese language. It examines not just how their constructions compared or contrasted, but also how they provided different perspectives. These constructions are illustrated in the context of the teaching and learning taking place in the classrooms and in the broader social context of the Chinese community schools.

The structure of this chapter is shown in the conceptual map on the next page, which illustrates the organisation of themes and subthemes vis-à-vis the research question.

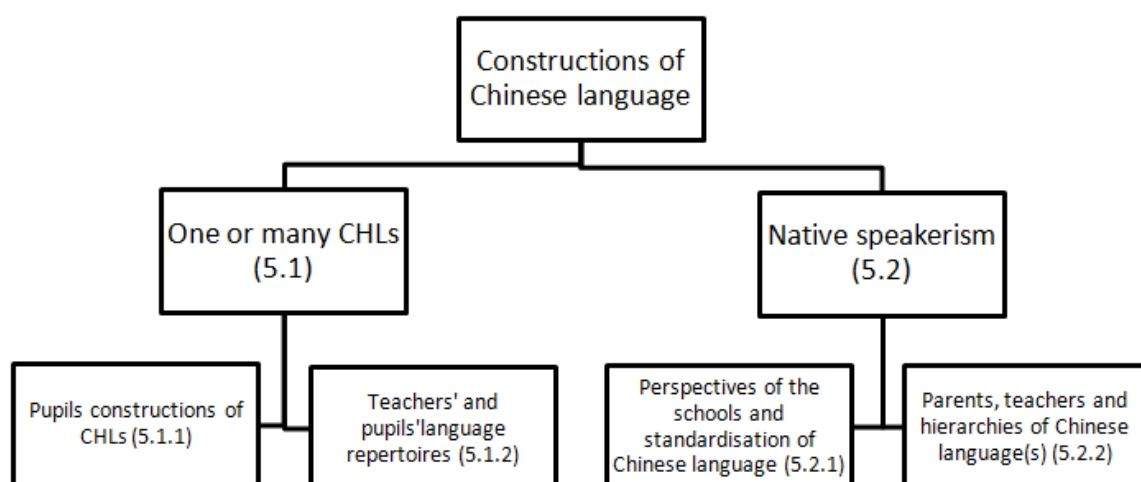


Figure 5.1 Structure of the chapter: Constructions of Chinese language.

As indicated in the conceptual map, the analysis of the data revealed two main themes: the concept of one or many Chinese heritage language(s) (CHL(s)) (5.1); and, the construction of native speakerism in a quest for the ‘perfect’ Mandarin speaker (5.2). The first theme centres respectively on pupils’ understandings of CHLs (5.1.1) and on how these were problematised by their teachers (5.1.2), while the second theme focuses on the perspectives of the schools and those of parents and teachers. These two subthemes investigate respectively how the schools envisioned the transmission of a ‘standardised’ version of Mandarin-Chinese language (5.2.1), and how hierarchies of Chinese language(s) emerged from the narratives of the adults in the schools (5.2.2).

Having outlined the structure of the chapter, I now turn to the discussion of the first theme that investigates pupils’ understandings of CHL vis-à-vis the perspectives of their teachers.

5.1 One or many CHL(s): Perspectives of pupils and teachers

The findings analysis presented in chapter 4 revealed that both pupils and adults acknowledged the role of the schools in transmitting Chinese language and, in particular, Chinese as a heritage language (CHL). However, as the literature review showed, Mandarin is the language which is mostly taught in community language schools as a heritage language (HL) (Li & Wu, 2008) on the

assumption that pupils have some level of exposure to that language within their families (Valdés, 2001, p. 38) and that the language has a “particular family relevance” (Fishman, 2001, p. 169). This section draws on the discussions in chapter 4 and on the theorisations of HL and CHL presented in chapter 2 to investigate how pupils reworked such assumptions and how they constructed CHL.

Consistent with the focus of the research question, I begin in 5.1.1 with an analysis of the pupils’ understandings of CHL. In 5.1.2, I then compare and contrast pupils’ perspectives on CHL with the ideologies of the teachers and the schools regarding the transmission of Mandarin.

5.1.1 Pupils’ construction of CHLs: Mandarin and other 方言 *fāngyán*

This first subtheme investigates how pupils constructed CHL vis-à-vis the schools’ focus on the transmission of Mandarin and discusses how the diversity and richness of pupils’ language repertoires informed their understanding of CHL and contrasted with the focus of the schools on Mandarin as the only CHL.

My observation sessions and informal conversations with pupils and parents revealed that families used other 方言 *fāngyán*—for example, Cantonese, Hakka, and Hokkien—in their daily lives. Analysis of Emily’s cartoon storyboard, for example, challenges the idea of Mandarin Chinese as her HL, as taught in the school. Coming from a family where Cantonese, Hakka, and English were used for daily communication, Emily started to learn Mandarin at Apple Valley School.

In her cartoon storyboard Emily described a lesson at her community school, explaining in box 2 that:

The teacher starts writing at the board on characters we will learn. She always speaks Chinese so, I do not understand. Sometimes she explains in English.

Use this storyboard to tell the story of one learning moment at the Chinese Community School: something has made you learn about yourself, about being Chinese or anything else important for you. Feel free to use the space as you want with words, drawings etc.

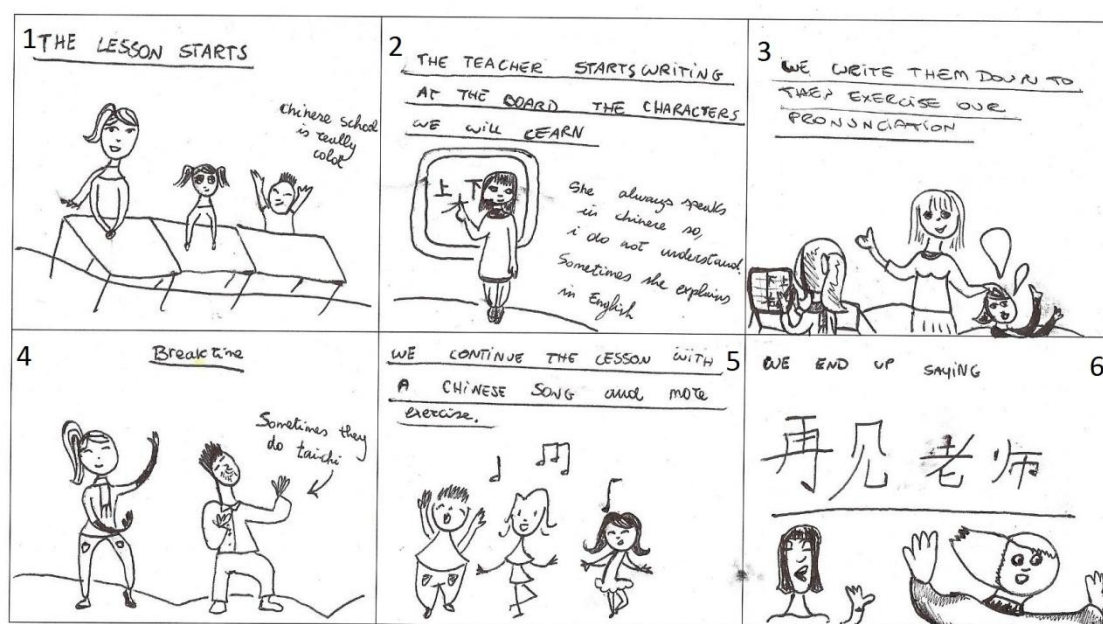


Figure 5.2 Cartoon storyboard created by Emily.

Emily illustrated how a “speak Mandarin-Chinese only” policy (Li & Wu, 2008) was implemented by her teacher in the classroom (“she always speaks Chinese”). However, the exclusive use of Mandarin created an issue for Emily. Although she had a good literacy in simplified characters and she used them in her cartoon storyboard, verbal communication in Mandarin was problematic for her (“I do not understand”). Her lack of exposure to Mandarin at home and her limited ability to speak and understand the language contrast with Valdés’ (2001) definition of a HL learner. Nevertheless, Emily had language competencies in other 方言 *fāngyán* (Hakka and Cantonese) and familiarity with Chinese simplified characters, which He (2008) considers as characteristics of CHL learners. However, the actual teaching practices and the dominance of Mandarin in her classroom somehow failed to acknowledge Emily’s true HL learner status.

Although the research sites focused on Mandarin-Chinese for HL learners, Mandarin did not have family relevance nor affective value for some pupils and

thus they considered other 方言 *fāngyán* (e.g., Hakka and Cantonese) to be their own CHL. The majority of the FG3 pupil participants at Deer River School, for example came from Cantonese-speaking families. They were confident Cantonese speakers; they explained, however, that their parents wanted them to learn Mandarin at the school as an asset for the future, despite the language's lack of family relevance. As Roy, who was transferred by his parents from a Cantonese to a Mandarin community school, explained:

Mandarin, it's going to be an important language because of the business that China is getting at the minute; they [parents] think that it will be useful if, say you, apply for a job for some corporate on international business; they might want people with Mandarin that can do business in China.

Roy's classmates confirmed this purely instrumental understanding of Mandarin ("useful if, say you, apply for a job") in their discussion about Chinese language in relation to their preferences and practices:

Violet: I like Cantonese.

Lily: I like Cantonese.

Roy: I like Cantonese.

Julian: Cantonese, it's my first language.

Roy: English and Cantonese are my first languages. We went to Cantonese school for few years and then we came here. I can't speak Mandarin but when I speak Cantonese [in Hong Kong] people would think I am just local.

Those pupils who had a shared understanding of Cantonese as their CHL articulated their responses by stressing its emotional value (Violet, Lily, and Roy: "I like Cantonese"), by pointing out the family relevance of the language, and their proficiency ("first language", "I can't speak Mandarin"). In particular, Roy stated that his ability to speak Cantonese allowed him to gain a sense of affiliation, so that when he visits Hong Kong people think he is "just local". By stressing how language proficiency allows him to feel connected to a particular group, Roy signalled the importance of Cantonese in relation to his identity.

As Kramsch (1998) contends, there is a “natural connection between the language spoken by members of a social group and that group’s identity” (p. 65). Furthermore, she explains that “although there is no one-to-one relationship between anyone’s language and his or her cultural identity, language is *the* most sensitive indicator of the relationship between an individual and a given social group” (p. 77). In acknowledging his status of a non-Mandarin HL speaker, in that he “can’t speak Mandarin” and his parents wanted him to learn it at Deer River School, Roy highlighted the significance of Cantonese as his own CHL instead.

At Apple Valley School, other pupils supported the idea that, although they did not attend the school as Mandarin HL learners, they still considered themselves CHL speakers. Coming from a family still largely domiciled in the New Territories (Hong Kong), Kitty and Yvonne, who attended Apple Valley, also attributed a strong emotional value to Cantonese:

Sara: So, do you speak Chinese when you are not in the school?

Kitty and Yvonne: Yes, we speak Cantonese a lot, Hakka and quite a lot of English.

Sara: You speak quite a lot of Cantonese?

Yvonne: I speak Cantonese when I don’t want anybody to understand what I say to her.

Kitty: Cantonese is important to speak secrets and to speak with our grandparents.

Yvonne and Kitty were confident Cantonese speakers who took great pride in their language skills. As Kitty put it, “you might as well say that I speak Cantonese really well”. When they were asked if they spoke ‘Chinese’ at home, they gave an affirmative response, but were, in fact, referring to Cantonese. As Dai and Zhang (2008) suggest in their theorisation of the habitus of CHL learners, “acquisition and maintenance of CHL often occurs in a vertical and reciprocal intimate relation between grandparents/parents and their CHL learner grandchildren/children” (p. 41). Kitty and Yvonne emphasised the family value and intimate dimension (Fishman, 2001) of Cantonese as

important “to speak with our grandparents” and also to “speak secrets”, as opposed to Mandarin which Kitty reportedly spoke only at the Chinese school. Using her cartoon storyboard (Figure 5.3), she illustrated this point in box 4 saying that:

You need to use Chinese only, I speak Mandarin to the teacher, only the words that I know.

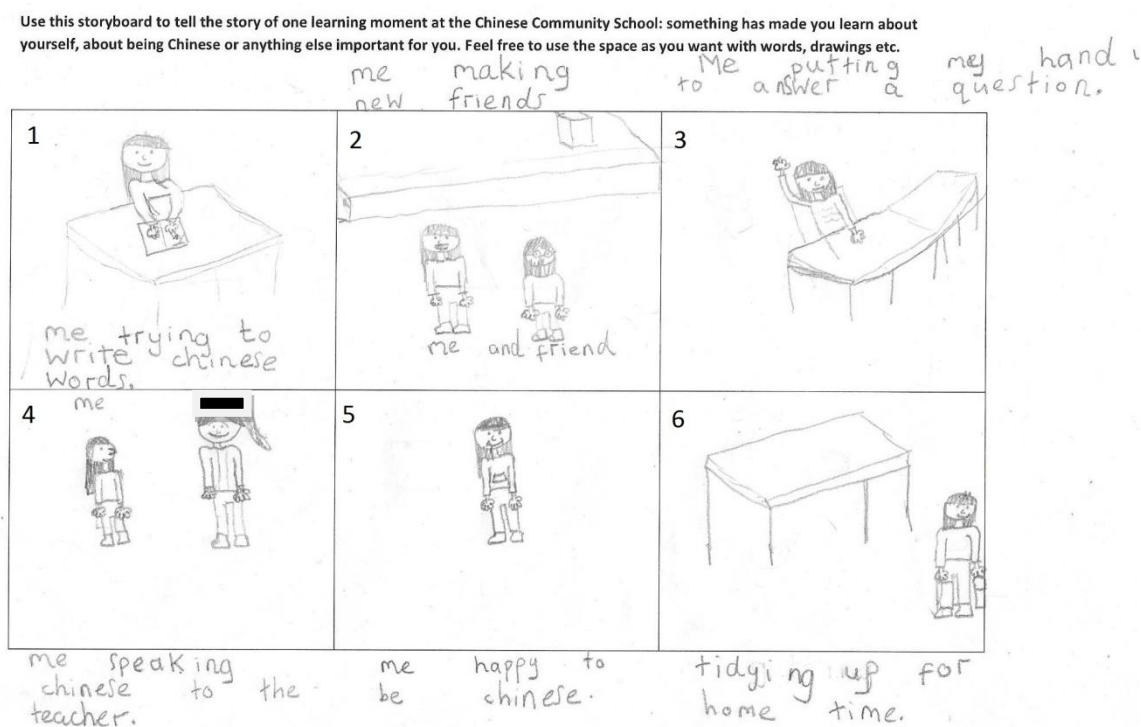


Figure 5.3 Cartoon storyboard created by Kitty.

Whereas Kitty admitted using Mandarin to communicate with her teacher requires an effort, she enthusiastically described how Cantonese as a HL has family relevance for her and how she is a confident bilingual speaker able to use Cantonese and English at the same time, exhibiting varying expertise and allegiance (He, 2008). Furthermore, not being a Mandarin HL learner did not seem to impact on Kitty’s identification with a Chinese self. In box 5 she wrote: “Me happy to be Chinese”, suggesting that proficiency in Mandarin is not necessarily a requisite for constructing a sense of Chinese identity.

So far the analysis of the findings has shown how pupils valued their language repertoires and constructed a complex vision of CHL where Mandarin was not

the only option. However, pupils' language repertoires were problematised by their teachers in the classrooms and so the next section explores CHL-related issues which emerged in the classrooms.

5.1.2 Teachers' problematising pupils' language repertoires

The previous section showed how the pupils' diverse and complex range of 'Chinese' language repertoires informed their understandings of CHL. At the same time, their command of other 方言 *fāngyán* was not necessarily valued by teachers who envisioned Chinese community schooling as aimed at CHL learners and who understood that language as meaning Mandarin-Chinese. Shuchung, a teacher at Apple Valley School, explained that parents enrolled their children in a community school so that they could engage with the language and culture of their families:

Parents want the children to come here and learn Chinese, because the parents are native speakers. They want the kids to understand the language and, through it, Chinese culture.

Shuchung defined a relationship between (Mandarin) Chinese and what she loosely termed "Chinese culture" whereby language becomes a vehicle to gain cultural affiliation. Mirroring Blackledge and Creese (2010), Shuchung perceived language as a salient feature of Chinese identity, and, in the process, glossed over the implications of simplifying concepts of language and culture. As she assumed that pupils all speak Mandarin at home, she delineated a relationship between one Chinese language (Mandarin as taught in the school) and the existence of an overarching Chinese culture. Moreover, she confirmed the position of the school, the assumption that pupils' parents are "native speakers", and that, as such, they enrolled their children to learn a language with family relevance.

A further issue that emerged was how some pupil participants, particularly in FG2, did not seem to have a clear sense of the difference between Mandarin and other varieties of Chinese. One possible reason was their age, as they were quite young; some were in the first years of primary school. Before the focus group, Alice, their teacher, explained that a number of pupils spoke other 方言 *fāngyán*

(such as Hokkien, Cantonese or Hakka) fluently at home, but were not necessarily fluent in Mandarin. In this excerpt, Alice and some of the pupils discuss what 方言 *fāngyán* they speak at home:

Sara: 有没有人说广东话? *You mei you ren shuo Guangdonghua?* <Is there anyone who speaks Cantonese?>

Danny: 我知道广东话! *Wo zhidao Guangdonghua* <I know Cantonese.>

Bella: 我爸爸妈妈说普通话! *Wo baba mama shuo putonghua* <My parents speak Mandarin.>

Eva: 我只说中文! *Wo zhi shuo zhongwen* <I just speak Chinese.>

Grace: 什么是广东话? 什么是广东话? *Shenme shi Guangdonghua? Shenme shi Guangdonghua?* <What's Cantonese? What's Cantonese?>

Alice: 广东话是广东人说的语言, Cantonese! *Guandonghua shi Guangdongren shuo de yuyan* <Cantonese is the language spoken by people from Guangdong, Cantonese!>

Sara: Does anyone speak Cantonese at home? 广东话?

Bella: Ah, yes, yes me.

In the data, it is evident that children did not necessarily recognise what 方言 *fāngyán* they spoke at home and seemed confused about the question. Bella initially stated that she speaks “just Chinese at home”, but when Alice clarified that Cantonese is the language spoken by people from the Guangdong region, where Bella’s family was from, she realised that she actually speaks Cantonese. During the focus group Alice also tried to understand the pupils’ language backgrounds by tracking their family origin. However, she did not seem to succeed, as her pupils struggled to show a clear understanding of their Chinese language practice at home:

Alice: 你是福建人吗? 你的老家 *your hometown* 是福建吗? 还是哪里? No, 你爸爸妈妈是哪里人? 在中国 *Ni shi Fujianren ma? Ni de laojia, your hometown, shi Fujian ma? Haishi nali? No, ni baba mama shi nali ren? Zai Zhongguo.*

<Are you Fujianese? Is your hometown Fujian? Or where?
No, where are your dad and mum from? In China.> Maybe,
when do you go to China, where do you go?

[Pupil whispers]

Sara: What did she say?

Alice: She says she doesn't know, just mum brings her back to China. [She looks at another student] Hey, there you go, new student. 说吧。你 在家里是说广东话还是普通话？你爸爸妈妈说英语吗？还是说中文？没关系，没关系！你说中文还是说英文？ *Shuo ba! Ni zai jiali shi shuo Guandonghua haishi putonghua? Ni baba mama shuo yingyu ma? Haishi shuo Zhongwen? Mei guanxi, mei guanxi! Ni shuo Zhongwen haishi shuo yingwen?* <Speak. At home do you speak Cantonese or Mandarin? Do your parents speak English? Or Chinese? Never mind, never mind! Do you speak Chinese or English?>

The excerpt shows how Alice assumed the existence of particular language repertoires based on the provenance of the pupils' families. By limiting the pupils' options and simplifying their language repertoires to either Cantonese or Mandarin or to English or Chinese she superimposed particular language labels on the pupils. However, the attribution of such labels somehow failed to capture the complexity of the pupils' language repertoires by assuming a correspondence between their family regional origin and the languages spoken by the pupils (Alice presumed that a number of pupils were from Fujian, and as such, speakers of a local dialect) and their language practices.

The FG2 child participants attended the art club taught by Alice together but studied language in different classes. A number of them were taught by Rose, who participated in this study as a teacher. Rose's interview offers a further insight into the issues that some children have in distinguishing the different 方言 *fāngyán* that they all identify as Chinese:

Rose: It depends on the parents; some parents speak Cantonese. If they['ve] got parents from Malaysia, they might speak the Malaysian language, so there is a problem because we learn Mandarin, not Cantonese or other

languages, so they speak different tones and even different meanings.

Sara: Are there quite a few children from Cantonese backgrounds in the school?

Rose: Yes, quite a few or different mothers from different parts of China so they speak the local language, even the children sometimes confuse them, sometimes I talk to them and they answer back, but in their mother tongue, so I have to guess what they mean because I don't quite understand.

Rose suggested that children at home often spoke a 方言 *fāngyán* which constituted their CHL. Some of her pupils were from Chinese-Malaysian families and she remarked that a number of them were confused in the classroom, as “they speak the Malaysian language” (referring to the Hokkien Chinese dialect) at home. Her perspective calls attention to Dai and Zhang's (2008) theorisation of the importance of different 方言 *fāngyán* in the daily language practices of CHL speakers, because it exemplifies the fact that different 方言 *fāngyán* are not necessarily mutually intelligible (“I have to guess what they mean because I don't quite understand”) and that the same 方言 *fāngyán* can have local variations (Dai & Zhang, 2008) that contrast with the idea of one Chinese language.

In acknowledging that learners have diverse language repertoires, Rose reinforced the idea that there is no univocal construction of Chinese as HL. However, pupils saw the existence of such repertoires as problematic and confusing “because we learn Mandarin”. Like Alice, Rose was aware of that pupils “speak the local language”. However, she somehow failed to acknowledge the value of the children's repertoires, instead considering them an obstacle to proper Mandarin learning, the mission of the school.

Having discussed how teachers problematised their pupils' language repertoires in relation to CHL, the major findings emerging from the first theme guiding this chapter are summarised in the next section.

5.1.3 Summary

This first theme has compared and contrasted pupils' and teachers' constructions of CHL. As the analysis of the findings has demonstrated, teachers prioritised the transmission of Mandarin to (assumed) CHL learners as central in the agenda of the schools. As a result, some teachers such as Alice superimposed language labels onto their pupils and sometimes failed to acknowledge the value of other 方言 *fāngyán*.

In contrast, pupils performed and valued a variety of language repertoires (including Hakka and Cantonese) with family relevance, thus challenging the idea of Mandarin as a HL common to all learners in the schools. Their understanding of CHL which accounted for a diversity of 方言 *fāngyán* (especially Cantonese and Hakka) also contrasted with a standardisation of Mandarin where, as discussed by Rose, regional accents and vocabulary choices are seen as problematic and representing barriers to learning.

Having investigated how pupils constructed CHL and how their teachers problematised their Chinese language repertoires, I now turn to the discussion of the second theme.

5.2 The construction of native speakerism in a quest for the 'perfect' Mandarin speaker

The second theme of this chapter shifts the focus to the perspectives of the schools, parents, and teachers on Chinese language. Concerned about pupils' speaking "the proper Chinese language", a number of parents and school staff advocated a standardisation of Mandarin taught by native speakers in the schools. However, the data showed how their opinions were contested and conflicting, and how the notion of native speaker within community schooling was problematic and politically charged.

5.2.1 Standardisation of Chinese language: The official perspectives of the schools

Standardised constructions of Chinese language emerged from the official perspectives of the two schools. The mission statement of Deer River School refers to the transmission of "the official Chinese language" as follows:

The school teaches Mandarin Chinese language (in simplified characters), so that pupils can achieve different levels of abilities to speak, read and write the official Chinese language.

No further explicit references were made in the document to the meaning of “official”. However, as “simplified characters” are used in Mainland China, a potential assumption of legitimacy related to the concept of a Chinese nation-state emerges (Doerr, 2009).

The constitution of Apple Valley School refers to Chinese language as “Mandarin in modern simplified form”:

[The school aims to] provide education in Chinese language (Mandarin in modern simplified written form) and Chinese culture.

The school website also explains that:

Mandarin is the official language in Mainland China, Taiwan and Singapore, and used by ethnic Chinese all over the world.

The status of Mandarin as the official language of Mainland China, Taiwan, and Singapore and as “used by ethnic Chinese worldwide” was used to legitimate the linguistic focus of the school. Thus, Chinese was assumed to be a monolithic entity, thereby glossing over differences of lexicon, phonetics, and discourse norms, and disavowing that Chinese speakers are a heterogeneous group (He, 2008).

5.2.2 Parents’ and teachers’ constructing hierarchies of Chinese language(s): Legitimacy, authenticity, and native speakerism

The positions of the two schools—that defined “official” Mandarin with script in simplified characters as the language of CHL education—were supported and extended by the narratives of parents and school staff.

As shown in their accounts, the existence of hierarchies of Chinese language(s) emerged as adults used arguments of legitimacy, authenticity, and native speakerism to construct them. Chloe, one of the parents from Deer River School, was born in Malaysia to a Chinese family. She had a very good command of

English, Malay, Mandarin, and of a number of 方言 *fāngyán* including Cantonese and Hakka. Although she was brought up in a Hokkien-speaking family, during her interview she somehow diminished the value of her own CHL:

There is no need to learn Hokkien, Mandarin is the proper language. That's what she [daughter] should learn.

Chloe did not see Hokkien in the UK as relevant for daily communication, as it was in her town in Malaysia. Instead, she downplayed the importance of Hokkien in favour of Mandarin as “proper language”. By comparing Hokkien and Mandarin, she subscribed to the idea that Chinese 方言 *fāngyán*, and, therefore, speaker groups, are in a hierarchical relationship (Li & Wu, 2008). As Mandarin retains an official status and a possibly wider currency than Hokkien—during her interview Chloe mentioned the professional opportunities offered to Mandarin speakers—she prioritised it as the language of education for her daughter.

Although other parents used their own 方言 *fāngyán* at home with their children, they had similar concerns to Chloe about learning “proper” Mandarin at school. Albert, a Cantonese-speaking parent from Apple Valley School, was a confident multilingual speaker with an excellent command of English and Mandarin. Nevertheless, he was concerned about his own Mandarin-speaker status and had enrolled his children in the school to learn tones and pronunciation from a native-speaker teacher:

I speak better than other people. I could have taught them Mandarin myself. However, as I wasn't brought up in a Mandarin-speaking family my tones are not perfect so they need the school.

Albert also praised his children's teacher saying:

The teacher is good. She is from Beijing. She can speak properly.

It is noticeable that Albert seemed to endorse Kramsch's (1998) position that authenticity (a teacher from the capital city speaking Mandarin with a particular accent perceived as standardised) and legitimacy of language usage

confer a certain authority on native speakers which translates into competences as a language teacher.

The idea of a pecking order amongst Chinese languages emerged in this study, with both parents and school staff having opinions about what makes a good Chinese, and particularly Mandarin, speaker. The observation sessions and contact hours with the parents revealed concerns about language proficiency, particularly in terms of accent amongst parents coming from different areas. I suggested to some members of the committee of one of the schools that they might encourage parents to support learning in the classrooms. I was surprised when my suggestion was declined by some parents and teachers:

[Although] made with good intentions, [it] is not going to work in our school. A lot of parents don't speak Chinese properly with a proper accent. They come from villages in (region of China) or other places. You cannot have them teaching in the classrooms.

(from research field notes, Apple Valley School, ON).

It was not only some parents who were concerned about their children learning Mandarin in a particular environment where the language is spoken in a standardised way. As demonstrated by the excerpt, such a concern was also reflected in the organisation of the school. Teachers too problematised the existence of regional accents ("parents don't speak Chinese properly with a proper accent"), together with assumptions about speakers' geographical provenance ("they come from villages") and education, resulting in the creation of hierarchies of Chinese speakers that were reflected in the internal dynamics of the school.

As argued by Bucholtz (2003), authenticity in language teaching is not a fixed status but is rather the outcome of socially constructed practices where different actors confer or deny the status of native speaker and educator according to different factors and individual negotiation. Aligning with Bucholtz (2003), the head teacher of Deer River School constructed an alternative hierarchy of Chinese language speakers where the educational level and socioeconomic status of the speakers were taken into account.

During her interview the head teacher explored how parents' backgrounds could impact on the pupils' language learning:

Parents all struggle. If they came here very young, they don't know Chinese themselves; how can they teach the children? If they came here as adults they speak the language but still have problems. You don't know what education they had, some come from take-away and restaurants they don't have a good education and they can't teach the children. Some of them work for the universities. They are educated; they have proper jobs. They can better educate children.

On the one hand, the head teacher grounded their assumed lack of competence by explaining that some parents had moved to the UK as children and, presumably, never developed a full command of the language. On the other hand, the head teacher problematised how the social and professional status of some parents might be reflected in their education and in their ability to educate children.

By dividing parents into educated professionals with "proper jobs" who have the potential to educate children and teach them Chinese, as opposed to noneducated or undereducated parents working in the catering sector who were not considered capable, the head teacher constructed an alternative hierarchy of Chinese speakers in the school context. Unlike Albert, Chloe, and the parents and teachers from Apple Valley School, the head teacher did not use the benchmark of 'perfect' Mandarin-Chinese speaker and teacher factors such as accent, tones and provenance; rather, she used arguments concerning parents' level of education, and their social and professional status.

So far, the findings have demonstrated that, within the schools, arguments in favour of a standardisation of the Chinese language focused on Mandarin as spoken in the region of Beijing rather than other 方言 *fāngyán*. The positions of the head teacher of Deer River School and of the parents, as illustrated in the previously reported field note from Apple Valley School, demonstrated how other ideologies were at play in the schools and informed the construction of and quest for 'perfect' Chinese speakers as a point of reference for the pupils' learning.

An analysis of the classroom observations shows how some teachers tried to implement ideas of standardisation in their own teaching practice. The following excerpt from my field notes illustrates the importance of a standardised vocabulary modelled on the northern dialects in this quest for the perfect Mandarin speaker:

The teacher [Willow] discusses vocabulary choices and family members with pupils asking them if they know how to say 'wife' in Chinese. When one of the pupils suggests 老婆 *laopo* she replies saying that 老婆 *laopo* is more a Cantonese word; "remember this is not a Cantonese class, now people use it but is not proper Chinese, if you want to speak Chinese properly you need to choose something more standard". Then, another child suggests using 太太 *taitai*, (and makes the sentence): "我介绍给你我的太太". Teacher: "我给你介绍我太太" <I introduce you [to] my wife>. 太太 *taitai* also requires you [to] use your married surname. Women in China don't do that anymore, only Taiwan and Hong Kong, beside that it's mostly used by Taiwanese, China moved on from the 40s".

(from research field notes, Apple Valley School, ON).

In the episode presented above, Willow, who was originally from Northern China, corrected the structure of the sentence made by one of the pupils. She also focused on polishing their vocabulary by discouraging the word choices 老公 *laogong* and 太太 *taitai* in favour of something more standard. Whilst 老公 *laogong* was seen as not entirely suitable as it was seen as too recent, colloquial, and more of a "Cantonese word", in contrast, 太太 *taitai* was problematised as supposedly out of fashion ("China moved on from the 40s") and used in Taiwan rather than in Mainland China. By highlighting the superiority of standard Mandarin as spoken in Mainland China, Willow defined herself as a vehicle of knowledge and standardisation. She particularly used linguistic attributes to construct herself as a native speaker, such as the ability to use vocabulary perceived as standard. To make her teaching point, she first used an argument based on a supposed lack of status of Cantonese ("now people use it, but is not proper Chinese"). Then, she discussed how the idea of the PRC's progress, as

opposed to that of Taiwan, is reflected in the development of a standard Mandarin language.

The importance of a standardised and polished Mandarin was not only reflected in the classroom teaching practices. Teachers also had opinions about the language proficiency of the parents in relation to the school's focus on Mandarin. During her interview, Nala, a Northern Chinese teacher at Apple Valley, expressed her concerns about language exposure that children get in their families, as Mandarin was not necessarily their HL:

Nala: Well, you learn Chinese yourself before. China is a very vast country. Even in the Chinese school you notice that parents and children from the same area like Cantonese speakers sit together.

Sara: They don't really speak Mandarin you mean?

Nala: Exactly, that's very important; some people don't have the language skills to communicate with others. If you speak with them in Mandarin they wouldn't understand they wouldn't be able to take part into a conversation. So, of course, people would talk with somebody else that they understand and that can be part of the conversation, people want to talk to each other effectively.

Echoing Rose's previously discussed perspective on children mixing different dialects in the classrooms, Nala mentioned communication issues in the schools where people not speaking Mandarin fail to have effective conversations. The classroom practices seemed to respond to such issues by encouraging the use of standard Mandarin and the presence of native teachers. The mission statement of Deer River School explains that:

All our teachers are native Mandarin speakers who have gone through our very strict and professional selection process.

By emphasising the point that all the teachers were Mandarin native speakers, the school used a "native speaker" construct as a marketing tool to confer authority and legitimacy on the language focus of the school itself.

Furthermore, the positions of parents and school staff confirmed that the conceptualisation of native speakerism often assumes a strong correspondence between being a citizen of a nation state and being a native speaker of the national language (Doerr, 2009). Concerned about pupils becoming perfect Mandarin speakers, teachers and parents defined the importance of native speaker teachers' using and teaching a standardised accent and vocabulary modelled on the northern dialects of Mainland China. Hence, a quest for the 'perfect' Mandarin speaker not only confirms the correspondence between citizenship of Mainland China and the status of the Mandarin native speaker, but it also suggests that within a nation state particular places and their speech hold a particular, preferential status.

However, in the context of CCS, the notions of nation state and native speakerism are controversial and problematic. In the following excerpt Joy (Deer River School), a teacher from Taiwan, expressed her frustration about the school's focus on Mandarin as spoken in Beijing:

Joy: As a teacher, I am unhappy about different things. First, I am not Chinese. I am Taiwanese and they say that they want teachers mainly from Beijing who can speak a proper Chinese.

Sara: But Taiwanese people speak Chinese. Right?

Joy: I would say we speak proper Chinese, yes, but they don't. Some Chinese people have a much worse accent. Taiwan is good because [it] is very traditional. Actually, we speak Mandarin much better than them.

Sara: So why do they want people from Beijing?

Joy: It's all about the accent. They want people to speak like that. The families say that. The school thinks they should provide proper Chinese language, proper characters which should be from China not the other Chinese-speaking countries. Everybody would have their accent. Parents want their kids [to] speak Mandarin even if they are not from the north [of China] they want their children to speak an accurate Chinese even if they don't have it themselves. Children in this country will never speak with a proper Chinese accent anyway. I am a parent myself. However, I

would take pride in my kids speaking proper Mandarin. It means that they are clever.

Joy summarised a diversity of ongoing issues in the context of CCS. First, she problematised her own status as Mandarin speaker, explaining that not being a citizen of the PRC does not impact on her own status of native speaker. Then, by attributing to herself what Creese et al. (2014) define as the right linguistic (“we speak better than them”) and cultural attributes (“Taiwan is good because [it] is very traditional”) she grounded her own authenticity and legitimacy as a Mandarin speaker. In particular, she used tradition in Taiwan as a marker for language and cultural purity, resisting the surrounding discourses (“they say that they want teachers mainly from Beijing who can speak a proper Chinese”). Joy not only challenged and deconstructed the assumption of a correspondence between being a citizen of the PRC and being a Mandarin native speaker; she also constructed an alternative correspondence between citizenship and native speakerism replacing the PRC with Taiwan and using tradition as a marker for language legitimacy.

Finally, she used the parents’ supposed language inadequacy (“even if they are not from the north they want their children to speak an accurate Chinese even if they don’t have it themselves”) to contrast with the school’s quest for perfect Mandarin speakers and thus reinstate her own legitimacy as “native speaker”.

Similarly, issues of citizenship as providing authenticity, and, therefore, legitimacy in language teaching emerged in one of the schools when a Taiwanese teacher was appointed. Ada was a qualified language teacher and she had years of experience both in Taiwan and in the UK. Nevertheless, her appointment raised a number of concerns amongst the parents. One example is recorded in a note taken during my observations of the parents’ interactions at the school. The note reports how a small group of parents discussed their concerns about Ada:

A number of parents seemed puzzled about the choice of a Taiwanese teacher. They problematised how her Chinese is too different from the standard (e.g., presence of Taiwanese accent, lack of familiarity with simplified Chinese characters, and the 拼音 *pīnyīn* system, word choices).

(from research field notes, Apple Valley School, ON).

Overall, some parents seemed concerned about the appointment of Ada despite the rigorous recruitment process put in place by the school. However, Ada's having been successfully recruited and her formal teaching qualification and relevant teaching experience failed to influence the parents' opinion of her. Rather, parents evaluated Ada against their own benchmarks of authenticity (citizenship) and legitimacy (knowledge of 拼音 *pīnyīn*, accent, vocabulary), benchmarks that, in their opinions, Ada could not meet. They especially problematised the correspondence between linguistic proficiency, status as native speaker, and citizenship of Taiwan.

Although legitimacy and authenticity are related concepts, Kramsch (2012) argues "one entails the other as a legitimate speaker is assumed to be an authentic member of a group" (p. 490). Whilst legitimacy depends on the sanction of an institution, authenticity requires the link to an identifiable origin and group membership. Moreover, an interplay of linguistic and other features allows an individual to claim or be assigned authenticity (Creese et al., 2014). This case shows how Ada failed to be assigned authenticity and legitimacy because she did not belong to a certain group (Mandarin speakers from Mainland China), and did not show particular linguistic features (accent, vocabulary).

Some parents also questioned her literacy as she (apparently) struggled with Chinese characters. Such criticism endorses Gill's (2011) position on authenticity as depending on particular settings, norms, and authenticating practices rather than being a fixed state. Ada clearly did not have a literacy problem, but she did come from an education system that uses traditional characters. However, lacking mastery of the official writing system adopted by the school (and in Mainland China) and the use of 拼音 *pīnyīn* called her status into question.

To get a fuller picture of the situation, I collected other views on the appointment of Ada, both from some of her pupils and from Ada herself. Another field note records a short conversation with two of her pupils during a break:

I asked them if their teacher was Ada but they said she introduced herself with a Chinese name. Then (to be sure that it was her) I double checked if she was Taiwanese. One of the girls said that she thought that but wasn't sure as to her "she is a Chinese lady, and she can speak Chinese really well". The pupils were also happy that Ada had good English and that she could use it in the classroom.

(from research field notes, Apple Valley School, ON; RN).

This conversation with two of Ada's pupils offered a very different perspective on her role as teacher, challenging parents' benchmarks of authenticity and legitimacy and even reauthenticating Ada's status. In fact, the two pupils did not problematise Ada's Taiwanese citizenship, which to them was not relevant at all, as in their eyes she was in every way "a Chinese lady".

According to Blommaert and Varis (2011), features determining authenticity can include not only linguistic ability but also appearance, possession, and behaviour. In the pupils' eyes, Ada possesses both the right linguistic ("she can speak Chinese really well"), and other emblematic features (i.e., Ada's being Chinese and using a Chinese name) that allowed her to be attributed authenticity. Therefore, by emphasising such features, the pupils' views contrasted with those of parents that the teacher should activate "the right kind of social and cultural capital to legitimise (her) standing in the classroom" (Creese et al., 2014, p. 941). Finally, the pupils stressed the fact that Ada could speak good English and that, as such, she could meet their own linguistic benchmarks for evaluating a good teacher, i.e., a teacher they could engage with in English.

Before other commitments led her to leave the school, I spoke briefly with Ada a couple of times. My research notes report that she seemed unaware of the ongoing undercurrent about her appointment. Although she explained to me that she was learning 拼音 *pīnyīn*, a transliteration system not in use in Taiwan because she needed it for her teaching, she seemed confident about her own expertise. However, my field notes report that:

I met Ada briefly on the stairs and asked her if she had ever felt that being Taiwanese had any implications for her

teaching. She smiled nervously and changed topic, asking about my PhD but mentioning that “you know, is always the usual old question of China and Taiwan”

(from research field notes, Apple Valley School, ON).

Although Ada offered a third perspective on issues of legitimacy and authenticity in (her) language teaching, she tried to avoid addressing the issues openly when asked, preferring to stress that she was trying to conform to the requirements of the school and learning 拼音 *pīnyīn*. Her response did, however, provide a nuanced insight into wider political issues (“the usual old question of China and Taiwan”) which in her opinion were reflected into the dynamics of the school.

The positions of parents, Ada, and her pupils on the appointment of a Taiwanese teacher demonstrate how different ideologies were at play in the school and the tensions between them. Pupils and parents used different benchmarks for authenticity and legitimacy (e.g., not just linguistic ability but also appearance) to evaluate Ada’s position as a teacher. As a result, her position was negotiated and contested in the context of the school, confirming the view that authenticity is a “dynamic process which involves conflict, contestation and reinvention” (Blommaert & Varis, 2011, p. 4). Thus, this episode serves to demonstrate how processes of authentication (Bucholtz, 2003), which view authenticity in language teaching as an outcome of constantly negotiated social practices rather than as a fixed status, manifest themselves in the context of CCS. Authenticating practices applied by different actors confer or deny authenticity to teachers both as native speaker and as educator.

In summary, this section demonstrates how the narratives of a number of parents and teachers reinforced the idea that legitimacy and authenticity, as represented in what constitutes native speakerism, played a strong role in the internal dynamics of the Chinese community schools. As Creese et al. (2014) argue, the legitimacy of native speakers and, thus of the native speaker teachers, is not based purely on linguistic attributes, “as language proficiency interacts with other social, cultural and political features” (p. 940).

Furthermore, even linguistic attributes and benchmarks of authenticity are negotiable and dependent on the context, norms, and authenticating practices in place (Gill, 2001). In the context of CCS, understandings of native speakerism, legitimacy, and authenticity in language teaching retain a strong hold in the narratives of parents, teachers, and, to some extent, pupils. As a result, often conflicting and contrasting hierarchies of languages (not only Mandarin and other 方言 *fāngyán* but also Taiwanese Mandarin and Mainland Chinese Mandarin) and language speakers (in terms of their different social, professional, and geographical status) were constructed by different actors through processes of individual negotiation.

In the context of community schooling, language becomes a set of ideologically defined and socially constructed resources and practices. In line with the theorisation of Heller (2007), my analysis too suggests that “hierarchies (of languages) are not inherently linguistic, but rather social and political” (p. 2).

5.2.3 Summary

In summary, this second theme explored how parents and teaching staff constructed Chinese language vis-à-vis the focus of the schools on the transmission what they saw as the “official” or standardised Chinese language.

First, the findings showed that the schools deployed the status of Mandarin as the official language of Mainland China, Taiwan, and Singapore and its being “used by ethnic Chinese worldwide” to legitimate the linguistic focus of the schools. In the rhetoric of the schools, Chinese was assumed to be a monolithic entity, a position which fails to acknowledge the fact that Chinese speakers are a heterogeneous (He, 2008) and not a homogenous group.

Furthermore, a number of parents and school staff advocated a standardisation of Mandarin, taught by native speakers, in an effort to ensure pupils learned “the proper Chinese language”.

However, the analysis of the narratives of parents and teaching staff revealed various ways in which the notion of native speaker within community schooling was problematic and politically charged. The participants’ accounts make clear the existence of a privileged order of Chinese language(s) and language

speakers which emerged through processes of individual negotiation, and that this hierarchy valued some of these more highly than others. Aligning with Heller's (2007) position on "hierarchies (of languages that) are not inherently linguistic, but rather social and political" (p. 2), participants constructed this stratification using arguments of legitimacy and authenticity.

Summary and conclusions

The purpose of this chapter was to explore how participants—and, in particular, pupils —across the two research sites constructed understandings of Chinese language. Their perspectives were illustrated in terms of the institutional focus of the schools, that is, the importance of the teaching of Mandarin Chinese. The chapter presented two overarching themes: the notion of not just one but many Chinese heritage language(s) (CHL/s) (5.1); and, the construction of native speakerism in a quest for the 'perfect' Mandarin speaker (5.2).

Four main conclusions can be drawn from the findings analysis offered in this chapter. The first conclusion indicates a contrast between pupils' and teachers' constructions of CHL. Although the importance of Mandarin CHL was prioritised by schools and teachers, its status as the only CHL was implicitly challenged by the diversity of the pupils' language repertoires in other 方言 *fāngyán* and the affective value that these 方言 *fāngyán* retained (e.g., Cantonese-speaking pupils considering themselves to be Chinese speakers).

Regarding the construction of CHL, the analysis demonstrated that—despite the focus of CCS on Mandarin Chinese as a/the heritage language—Mandarin did not have any particular family relevance nor emotional value for a number of pupils. Instead, pupils constructed a more complex vision of CHL, attaching emotional value and family relevance to other 方言 *fāngyán* and, in particular, Hakka and Cantonese, which were the languages that they spoke in their homes with either one or both parents. Such articulated understanding of CHL contrasted with the classroom practices where teachers implemented a "(Mandarin) Chinese-only policy" as taught by "native speakers".

On their part, teachers acknowledged the language resources of their pupils and the linguistic complexity displayed in the classrooms. However, there was a

tension between what they believed their role to be (i.e., a teacher of a “good” and preferably Beijing accent) and the fact that many of the children could not understand or speak Mandarin.

The second conclusion confirms Creese et al.’s (2014) position on native speakerism in HL classrooms that “the authenticity and legitimacy of the native speaker is an ideological construct discredited in scholarly research but apparently credible to the students and teachers” (p. 947).

In 5.2. I drew on theorisations of native speakerism in relation to language teaching and learning (e.g., Doerr, 2009; Heller, 2007) to provide a deeper understanding of the different statuses of Chinese language/s in the schools. In particular, the findings explored how native speakerism and the label of “native speaker teacher” in community language education were understood by participants and used to legitimate the language focus of the schools.

Discourses around native speakerism and the importance of educating pupils to become standard Mandarin speakers emerged in the narratives of a number of parents and teachers in what could be defined as a quest to create the ‘perfect’ Mandarin speaker.

The third conclusion of this chapter concerns the multifaceted, and sometimes conflicting, value that Chinese pupils, parents, and school staff attributed to Chinese language and language education. On the one hand, a number of both parents and teachers agreed on the importance of transmitting a standardised variety of Mandarin, voicing concerns around accent, vocabulary, and structures. In this sense, the status of teachers as native speakers was central, as that status conferred authority and legitimacy on them. On the other hand, participants had diverse views on what constituted a native Mandarin speaker, which manifested themselves in issues of legitimacy and authenticity, and where the status of native speaker implies a political affiliation with a political entity (Taiwan or China).

The fourth conclusion concerns adults’ (parents’ and teaching staff’s) constructions of hierarchies of Chinese languages and language speakers that were reflected in the internal dynamics of the school.

As the findings analysis has demonstrated, distinctions between not just Mandarin and other 方言 *fāngyán*, but also Taiwanese Mandarin and Mainland Chinese Mandarin and speaker groups as determined by different social, professional, and geographical status emerged and contrasted with the monolingual focus of the schools on Mandarin-Chinese language (Heller, 2007).

Overall, this chapter has unfolded layers of linguistic and ideological complexity in the construction of Chinese language in the community schools which contrast with the idea of community schools as monolingual learning sites. Issues of language status and power between speakers of Mandarin and other 方言 *fāngyán* and between Mainland Chinese and Taiwanese Mandarin speakers also emerged from the analysis of the findings, suggesting, as do Li and Wu (2008), the existence of not just hierarchies but also tensions between different Chinese languages and speaker groups.

Having investigated participants' constructions of Chinese language, the next chapter focuses on their understandings of Chinese 'culture' as central in the agenda of the schools.

Chapter 6 Participants' constructions of Chinese culture

Introduction

This chapter addresses the study's third research question:

How do pupils construct Chinese culture vis-à-vis the aims of the schools? How do teachers and parents contribute to pupils' constructions, and what ideologies lie behind such constructions?

The literature contends that the replication of Chinese culture is central in the agenda of Chinese community schools (Francis et al., 2009). Having examined the importance of language teaching and learning in the research sites, this chapter, therefore, investigates the cultural agenda of the schools and how it was understood by pupils and adults.

The aim of this chapter is not to define culture, but rather, in light of the theoretical framework discussed in 2.4.2, to analyse the data gathered from pupils, parents, and school staff in order to understand how they coconstruct the culture they are claiming to be representative of (Holliday, 2010b).

The conceptual map below shows the structure of this chapter and illustrates the organisation of themes and subthemes vis-à-vis the research question.

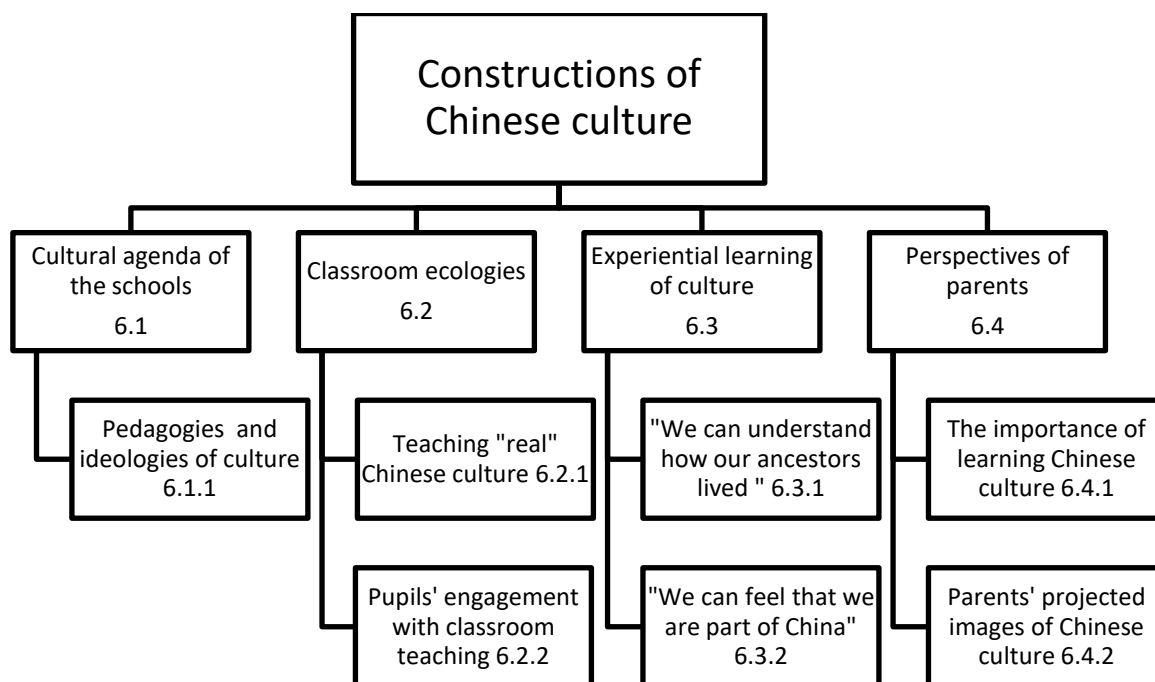


Figure 6.1 Structure of the chapter: Constructions of Chinese culture.

As indicated above, this chapter explores four main themes. The first centres on the cultural agenda of the schools and discusses pedagogies or approaches to teaching culture and the ideologies informing them (6.1). The second explores the classroom ecologies and the teaching/learning of culture as illustrated through the experiences of pupils and teachers (6.2). The third theme analyses how the idea of teaching/learning culture through experience was translated into practice by the schools and understood by pupils (6.3). Finally, the fourth theme investigates how parents understood the importance of the transmission of Chinese culture in the schools according to their own small culture formation processes (6.4).

6.1 Cultural agenda of the schools: Pedagogies and ideologies of culture

The first theme explores the cultural agenda of the schools and then discusses how the teaching of culture was implemented in the curriculum and what ideologies informed its implementation. As anticipated in 2.2, in line with the social constructionist framework of this study, I understand ideology as a system of ideas which drives behavioural choices (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), and that, as such, in a research context, informs participants' understanding of a particular phenomenon: in this case, Chinese culture (Holliday, 2010b).

The data analysis considers both publicly available charter documents (published on the websites of the schools), and the accounts of the two head teachers, who positioned themselves as representing the official perspective of the schools. The purpose of examining the documents was to ascertain the ways in which culture is envisaged in the official discourses of the schools. The documents presented the schools' visions of themselves, the values they wanted to promote, and the strategic intent they pursued. To protect the anonymity of the two schools, the contents of the charter documents referred to are paraphrased rather than quoted directly. The accounts of the head teachers are included as I asked them to clarify and expand upon the contents of the school documents in order to provide further information about ideologies and pedagogies of culture in the context of their schools.

6.1.1 Ideologies and pedagogies of culture

When providing the research context (3.3), I anticipated how the schools implemented the teaching of culture both in the classroom through teacher-centred teaching and through extracurricular activities (e.g., celebrations of festivals).

In the classrooms, textbooks and teaching materials formed the core of the curriculum planning process and classroom teaching. As discussed in 3.3, Apple Valley and Deer River adopted the same textbooks: the 中文 *Zhongwen* series which were compiled by the College of Chinese Language and Culture of Jinan University (CCLC) for an audience of overseas learners.

My research field notes and the interviews with the head teachers showed that classroom teaching of Chinese language and culture was largely based on these textbooks and, in our interview, the head teacher of Deer River explained why their contents guided the school's curriculum:

We cannot decide what to teach. We have a curriculum and textbooks. 中文 *Zhongwen*, is the one [textbook] from the Jinan University in China. Jinan University is in Guangdong province and they have a robust programme to develop teaching materials for Chinese [students]. Originally, they were for overseas Cantonese speakers because they are so close [to Guangdong].

The head teacher stated, furthermore, that the textbooks' major role in the curriculum was a matter of convenience and a choice of the School Committee that was, however, "looking for other suitable options". Similarly, the head teacher of Apple Valley School described how teachers focused on the delivery of the contents of the textbooks:

They [teachers] send out these homework but they are pretty much based on the textbooks but the way they teach, it's up to them.

As a result, textbooks provided the major channel through which pupils engaged with Chinese culture and language, together with the inputs offered by the teachers. For this reason, I will briefly discuss how the textbooks configured culture and whether such configuration(s) align with the agenda of the schools. Paraphrasing the contents of the Curriculum Plan of Apple Valley School: "the 中文 *Zhongwen* textbooks deal with culture in the context of practical life, with culturally themed lessons presenting literary stories, fables, natural scientific papers, traditional idioms, and the modern Chinese society". According to Holliday's 'grammar of culture' (2011a, 2011b, 2013), cultural artefacts such as cultural practices (ways in which people perform particular actions) and elements such as art, architecture, and literature locate culture. A configuration of culture centred on cultural artefacts also resonates with what scholars such as Byram (1997) and Holmes (2014b) define as knowledge of facts, food, festivals, and flags, as culture is objectified through and equated with particular cultural products.

However, rather than in critiquing the textbooks I am interested in how their centrality in the pedagogies of the schools and their configuration of culture was relevant in the classrooms ecologies. For instance, as textbooks formed the core of the curriculum, their configuration of culture impacted on the teachers' approaches to teaching, on the pupils' attitude to learning, and on the relationships and engagement that pupils and teachers had with one another. Section 6.2 presents a more detailed analysis of the role of textbooks in the ecological systems of the classrooms.

Culture was not only taught in the classrooms; it was also incorporated in the broader context of the school through specific culture-oriented extracurricular activities (e.g., classes on Chinese art, dance, and music) and celebrations (e.g., Chinese New Year). Apple Valley had a rich calendar of activities for the pupils, their families, and the broader community. My research field note, for example, records that:

[At the] first event for the general public, the programme included: presentation of the school activities and aims. Some examples of the students' work (e.g., homework and tests). The activities will involve a treasure hunt, calligraphy and a card-making workshop.

The agenda of both schools emphasised how culture cannot simply be formally taught; it must also be experienced, for instance, by taking part in community events and activities. The opportunity to experience Chinese culture at the school was stressed by both the head teachers, but also mentioned as part of the aims of Apple Valley School:

[The school aims to] provide opportunities for children to experience Chinese through different activities and festivals.

Apple Valley's head teacher emphasised how cultural events represented not only celebrations for the Chinese community that came together at the school, but also a platform for promoting Chinese culture and the school in the wider community:

We have Chinese New Year parties. We are lucky that we always get sponsors and a nice atmosphere and many guests. We try to promote the school and Chinese culture in the society, invite people, dignitaries, and other people who are interested.

Deer River's school committee also had a strong interest in the promotion of Chinese culture and the delivery of cultural activities, although capacity and organisational issues limited these. As the head teacher explained:

I hope that we can do more cultural things at the school. So far because we are all volunteers we don't have much time

to do anything cultural outside the normal teaching. [...] Especially for people who come to the school, part of the experience is experiencing Chinese culture as a community not just as individuals.

Overall, being able to access Chinese culture was also seen as a fundamental component of people's membership to the school. The idea of community schools as spaces where Chinese people meet together and learn from each other also echoes the importance of the provision of social capital at the schools discussed in 2.2.4.

6.1.2 Summary

The findings on this first theme demonstrated how the schools constructed culture as a product, that is, in terms of its historical dimension (e.g., the definition of traditional and contemporary cultures). The teaching of culture was implemented in the classroom through teacher-centred teaching and through extracurricular activities such as celebrating festivals. In the classrooms textbooks played a central role, as they guided the curricula, whereas the schools saw extracurricular cultural activities as an opportunity for pupils and their families to experience Chinese culture as a community.

The next section centres on the teaching and learning of Chinese culture in the classrooms.

6.2 Classroom ecologies: Teaching and learning Chinese culture

The chapter's second theme concerns the teaching and learning of Chinese culture in the classrooms, i.e., How did teachers rework the orientation of the schools towards Chinese culture and translate it into their teaching practices? What ideologies motivated their teaching of culture? How did pupils respond to the teaching of culture, and how was it similar to or different from their interests and expectations?

To address these questions, I take an ecological approach; this considers how teaching and learning of language and culture were interwoven both in the classroom practices and in the participants' accounts. As shown in 2.3.3, an ecological approach to classroom teaching and learning focuses on the quality of learning, on the quality of classroom interaction, and on the broader

educational experience (van Lier, 2004, 2012). In the context of community schooling, an ecological perspective can be adopted “to describe the ideological, interrelation and interactional affordances of these linguistically diverse classrooms” (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, p. 104). I have organised the analysis of findings around two subthemes that capture respectively the perspectives of teachers (6.1.1) and pupils (6.1.2).

6.2.1 Teaching “real” Chinese culture

Teachers were responsible for implementing the curriculum in the classroom. Their relationships and interactions with the pupils were central to the classroom dynamics. At the same time, teachers had to prioritise the agenda of their schools—which guided the curricula—and their focus on textbooks. They also had to take into consideration the expectations of parents and manage them vis-à-vis their own goals as educators.

As I explore how teachers taught Chinese culture in the classrooms, I discuss how such pedagogies of culture were shaped by their individual discourses of Chinese culture. Finally, I draw on the concept of agency suggested by van Lier (2004) to discuss how teachers envisaged their role as educators and the factors that motivated them to teach Chinese culture in the classrooms.

Textbooks and discourse[s] of culture as symbolic power

As anticipated in 3.5.1, the 中文 *Zhongwen* textbooks formed the core of the planned curriculum, here intended as contents and aims of the syllabus (Kelly, 1999) and, thus, to its theoretical aspect. However, analysis of my findings reveals that a textbook-centred curriculum with often little leeway for any personal input was problematic for a number of teachers. At Deer River School, teacher Joy was very disillusioned about the agenda of the school and the curriculum. When I asked her what motivated the school’s choice for a textbook-centred curriculum, she replied: “You should ask the [school] committee, not the teachers. We are not involved in any decision”.

The teachers’ reservations about the choice of a textbook-centred curriculum rested upon a number of reasons. For example, the majority of them felt that topics (e.g., traditional poems) and tasks (e.g., copying and memorising

characters and sentences) did not support the pupils' engagement. At Apple Valley, Shuchung contested the pedagogical approach of the school to language and culture, as it centred on repetition of concepts and characters and topics not relevant to everyday life:

The textbooks are a bit old. The teaching style is different from what they get in mainstream schools. It is textbook and repetition driven. There is stuff like about the Forbidden City, about our history. Not very relevant to everyday life.

At Deer River, Ting extended that opinion and argued that the fact that pupils "don't live in China" affected pupils' understanding of certain cultural products represented in the books:

The textbooks are made in China, certain things the children here they don't understand. The 马路 *malu*, road. They cannot explain why they call it like that because they don't live in China. It comes from the old times when we had horses. Like 茅房 *maofang*. Do you know the 茅房 *maofang*?

Sara: Like some type of toilet?

Ting: Yes, an old toilet. It does not mean toilet anymore. It means something [that] it's made very poorly. Did you know that?

Ting's understanding of culture resonates with Kramsch's (2011) definition of discourse as symbolic power which "focuses on what words index, what they reveal about social relations, individual and collective memories, emotions and aspirations" (p. 357). Ting was not just highlighting the importance of pupils' understanding specific lexical forms [e.g., 马路 *malu* and 茅房 *maofang*] here, but rather voicing her concerns about the collective memories that those words evoked.

Along the same lines, Alice (Apple Valley School) shared an example which emphasised how the symbolic meaning of certain Chinese idiomatic expressions used in the books was problematic for her pupils. She explained:

I give you an example. Things like the story of the ducks in the pond they [pupils] would not understand, they would laugh. They think it's silly. Because they were not brought up in China they cannot understand the meaning and the beauty of the 鸳鸯戏水 *yuanyang xi shui* <Mandarin ducks playing in the water>, why they are important for us.

Mandarin ducks are a traditional Chinese symbol of conjugal love and fidelity. Alice used the expression 鸳鸯戏水 *yuanyang xi shui* to signify the difficulties faced by her pupils in understanding and appreciating the symbolic dimension of [her understanding] of Chinese culture. At the same time, as had Ting, Alice tried to establish a connection with me. As she did not explain the meaning of 鸳鸯戏水 *yuanyang xi shui* or why Mandarin ducks are important for the Chinese, she assumed that I could access their symbolic meaning, stating that: "Because you studied in China before, you are different [from pupils] and I think that you can appreciate the ducks and understand why they are beautiful".

In summary, by sharing a concern that the configuration of culture in the textbooks was not relevant for the pupils' daily lives, the teachers problematised how the teaching of culture needs meaningful representations that pupils could connect with. In light of this issue, the next section shows how teachers tried to implement pedagogical alternatives in the classrooms.

A further consideration is related the researcher reflexivity emerged in this study. Alice and Ting, as did other teachers, seemed to test my own ability to understand particular lexical and symbolic meanings and to engage with the collective memories they signified. By doing so, teachers wanted to establish that I could connect with the problem that they wanted to raise and, possibly, to decide the extent to which we could relate to one another. Hence, these incidents support the idea of the complexity of the researcher/researcher dynamics where a multiplicity of factors are in play (see discussion on reflexivity in 3.4.7). Although my positioning as multilingual researcher, for example, my ability to understand particular lexical meanings in Mandarin, was important for me to engage with participants, my wider background including my experience of living in China was equally important. What enabled me to forge relationships with participants and what they seemed to value was not so

much my ability to communicate in Mandarin, but rather the fact that we could access common cultural meanings and use them to make sense of the reality in the classrooms.

Pedagogies of culture: Language as a conduit to Chinese culture

Teachers also looked for pedagogical alternatives, other methods to introduce Chinese culture to their pupils. With their knowledge and experience of life in China, teachers gave great importance to their role as educators and they felt responsible not only for introducing the curriculum in the classrooms, but also for making Chinese culture accessible and meaningful for the pupils.

Chinese language teaching was seen by teachers as a primary conduit to Chinese culture. At Apple Valley School, teacher Nala described how language and culture were interwoven in the classrooms: “through language learning children can learn stuff about history”. Her colleague Rose discussed in depth how culture can be taught through language:

You teach the language and you combine the language with the culture. We celebrate festivals and do things in the community. You learn with the language and the culture together. We can teach the children additional knowledge.

She then offered examples of different scenarios of language and culture learning in the classrooms. The celebration of the Chinese New Year represented an opportunity to teach children about “real China”:

They [pupils] can ask and say about the New Year. They ask “what do you do in China?” Like real China, like people doing crackers, they might know some things, like what food we are going to eat, we can have chicken, we can have fish.

As she introduced her anecdote, Rose stressed the importance of teaching Chinese culture to children by adding extra information not found in the contents of the textbooks:

They [pupils] say “Why are you having that?” So on the top of that you can add things, words, and more communication.

You need to teach the culture together, you cannot just say,
I will teach you this; you want to embed it with language.

Rose stated several times during her interview that language and culture cannot be separated, being convinced that such a belief “applies to any language, not just Chinese”. She not only defined how language can be used as a conduit to culture, but she highlighted how the Chinese culture she mediated by language in the classrooms had features of authenticity (“like real China, like people doing crackers”). The belief that language is a conduit and an actual embodiment of Chinese culture itself and to the internalisation of social values (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), was extended by Ting in the other school:

Through learning the language that actually defines the Chinese social values. By memorising those phrases from the classics, culture become[s] part of the person. That’s how you learn about culture. Because they [pupils] don’t live in China, they don’t learn these things in daily life.

Although the teachers’ accounts offered different perspectives on the importance of language as a means to access Chinese culture, their views all resonate with what Kramsch (1996) defines as the phenomenon of ‘culturalisation’ in the field of language teaching. The phenomenon is rooted in theoretical and pedagogic approaches to language learning and teaching informed by the belief that culture manifests itself through language. According to Kramsch (1996), “(material) culture is constantly mediated, interpreted and recorded—among other things—through language” (p. 3).

At the same time, although it is in the mediatory role of language that culture represents a concern in language teaching, constructions of culture in language learning also arguably depend on teacher and context (Kramsch, 1996). In the context of my study, all the teachers projected strong views on Chinese culture, what values it expressed, and how it shaped the character and behaviour of “the Chinese”. Convinced that the textbooks were not sufficient for pupils to appreciate Chinese culture and to interiorise Chinese values, teachers looked for pedagogic alternatives.

Despite her reservations on the curriculum and the textbooks, Rose wanted her classes to be interesting for her pupils and so she tried to incorporate stories,

PowerPoint presentations, and other materials (“your research”) to provide a valuable alternative to the textbooks:

You share your knowledge, your information, your understanding of your own culture to make them interested. [...] So you can just add your research, your teaching. I think that you encourage the children to ask questions about what’s interesting and what they don’t understand.

Later, she offered an example from her own teaching experience, explaining how she embedded notions of geography and Chinese culture in her lessons:

Like I said, I will put a lot of extra information about Chinese culture beside the books. For example, we have been talking about the big rivers of China during the lessons. The mountains the beautiful mountains, the river, where is the longest river, which part of China is where I grew up. So I would say “I call it Mother River but in England how do you call it?” It depends on what region. What type of things people do in that part of the country [China].

Her colleague Lirong was convinced that particular aspects of Chinese culture such as the celebration of festivals were important for the children. She explained:

[Chinese culture is] anything that is related to our Chinese background. Like how is Women’s Day in China. Like the dragon boat becomes a big culture [cultural celebration] in China. What is behind is to remember one person who is famous. I hope that children are interested in what’s behind the dragon boat.

Lirong was not just interested in directing her efforts towards getting pupils interested in particular Chinese cultural products; she was concerned at the same time about the importance of pupils’ understanding their symbolic meanings and how pupils could relate to them and their own Chinese background.

Like her colleagues, Alice put a lot of effort in offering extra materials to her students:

Alice: I have prepared some PowerPoint for my students about Chinese culture, every time, or I bring some short articles or use some pictures about different dresses and about food. I find some pictures. I think that that one is a very nice way of teaching, it brings culture to life. Do you know the story of the rabbit on the moon?

Sara: Is it 嫦娥奔月 *ChangHe ben yue* <ChangHe flies to the moon>?

Alice: Yes, exactly 当然是那个 *dangran shi na ge* <it is indeed that>legend. Your Chinese is good, you are really good.

In the classrooms, fables, stories of animals, and legends were widely used by teachers to expose their pupils to Chinese culture. In the teachers' eyes they represented a way to "bring to life" Chinese culture and to make it more relevant to pupils. The gulf between teachers and pupils as regards what is relevant to be taught—and how they responded not only to the use of textbooks but also fables and extra materials—is explored in further depth in 6.2.2. That section centres on the perspectives of pupils.

Having explored how teachers taught culture in the classrooms, the next section explores how they constructed Chinese culture, what it meant to them, and how they understood that importance in the schools.

Teachers' projected images of Chinese culture: Tradition and authenticity

The ways in which teachers taught Chinese culture were informed by their projected images of Chinese culture. Although teachers drew on cultural products—such as values, beliefs and behaviours—to construct Chinese culture or their Chinese cultural realities, their constructions were sometimes conflicting.

Alice at first discussed the universality of certain Chinese cultural products (e.g., filial respect, character), as she wanted to emphasise what Chinese traditional culture is, and how it can be used to make sense of the character and behaviour of Chinese people:

In Chinese culture. I mean traditional culture. Our character is always shy. Let me give you an example, in my husband's hometown if I like that boy I will make a cloth and put it under his shoes and he will not slip. [...] That means I like you. [...] That's Chinese traditional culture.

Then she stressed how, despite the universality of certain products, regional variations are also important markers of tradition:

It [culture] changes from north to south, but it's traditional anyway. Like in Guangdong they eat any animal and we [in the north] don't. But the main traditional things are the same. Anyway, your country, your husband and your father are the most important things in your life. That is real Chinese culture.

Although in the excerpt above Alice toned down the assumption that Chinese culture is homogenous, she concluded by stating that particular cultural products (e.g., Confucian values) are common to all Chinese people and as such are an expression of real Chinese culture. Her colleague Jun was equally convinced about the importance of teaching Chinese culture through shared cultural products:

[It's important] learning more about our culture. About the festivals but also about the background. About the teachings of 孔子 *Konzi* <Confucius> and how they affected so many people and other countries.

The importance of Confucianism in Chinese culture as a discourse of unity and tradition found wide currency amongst the teachers ("your country, your husband", "the teachings of 孔子"). A further example is offered by Nala, who shared her understanding of Chinese culture as the product of Confucianism and explained why it should have been taught in the classrooms:

As I personal thing. I think that Chinese culture, it's real value to the world is that Chinese people is not aggressive in terms of culture. I think that is the product of the Confucian culture. It is about trying to balance between all sort of things and trying to find the harmony. Chinese people are very modest. I think that modesty is very important and needs to be taught to pupils.

In his work on small and large cultures Holliday (1999) cites a Chinese language education context, and argues that individuals' discourses of Confucianism are not necessarily aligned with a [Chinese] large culture paradigm, which is linked to a prescribed Chinese national entity. If individuals use their discourses of and about Confucianism to interpret its influence on other people—in his example, Holliday (1999) suggests that teachers used discourses of Confucianism and culture rather than their direct description to interpret their students' behaviour—they are, in fact, constructing a [Chinese] small culture. Furthermore, according to Holliday (1999), the processes through which individuals use cultural products to construct their small culture[s] “tells us something about the ways in which notions of large culture are reified, and dominant discourses of culture are set up” (p. 253). In line with the example given by Holliday (1999), the data in this study show that teachers used their own projected images of Confucianism and Chinese culture to construct their own Chinese small culture(s) in the context of the school. In addition, as they constructed such culture(s), they used ideas of authenticity and tradition to claim its value for the children and at the same time to interpret the pupils' behaviour (“they think that Mandarin ducks are silly”).

A further interpretation of Confucianism as small culture is offered by the perspective of Ting, who described a number of cultural products (e.g., behaviours) that she saw as lying at the core of Chinese culture. As she defined her understanding of Confucian cultural values, she also emphasised how Chinese values were different from British values:

We transmit the Confucian values to Chinese children. Respect the elderly, that's a big thing, and that's a big difference between mainstream British values and culture and Chinese families. Look at the differences between Chinese families and British families; in the Chinese families traditionally the elderly play a major role. There is an emphasis in respecting your elder. Don't speak back at your elder. Do as you are told. Stuff like that, behave conformably. Everything must be for the good of the family. These values are really Chinese.

As did her colleagues, Ting manifested the interiorisation of Chinese [Confucian] when she used her constructed Chinese small culture to differentiate it from the dominant British society. Here the position of Ting aligns with the findings discussed by Archer et al. (2010) on the importance of 'culture' in Chinese language schools. In their study, teachers and parents "frequently engaged in a form of 'fixing' of culture in order to produce themselves as powerful (cultural) subjects" (p. 413). As parents in this study used their idealised constructions of Chinese culture to mark a distance between "the Chinese" and "the British" (or Westerners), they resisted the dominant discourses of the society surrounding them. Convinced of the importance of [their interpretation] of traditional [Confucian] Chinese education, teachers in my study saw in the classroom teaching as an opportunity to channel Chinese values that pupils could interiorise to improve not only as learners but also as people.

However, there was not always consensus on what traditional or authentic Chinese culture was and, despite the dominance of Confucianism in the teachers' discourses, some dissenting opinions emerged. As a Taiwanese citizen, Joy problematised the construction of Chinese culture at Deer River School as, in her view, both the official discourses of the school and the expectations of the parents centred on projecting the culture of Mainland China as 'Chinese' culture. She explained:

They [parents and teachers] think that Chinese culture should be from China not from other places like Taiwan. Even those who are Singaporean, Malaysian, and so on.

In 5.2.2, I illustrated how Joy resisted dominant discourses of Chinese language (i.e. as the language of the Chinese nation state) by grounding her own authenticity and legitimacy as a Mandarin speaker in alternative linguistic and cultural attributes. The following excerpt demonstrates how she used similar arguments to challenge the focus of the agenda of the school on Chinese culture as the culture of Mainland China and, by doing so, how she challenged the correspondence between Chinese culture and the political entity of the PRC:

Joy: Chinese culture? First of all I AM NOT Chinese. AT ALL. I told you before, I have my own language and culture. However, Chinese culture is our [Taiwanese] way of life.

Sara: I am confused, what does it mean that you are not Chinese?

Joy: {laughs} Well, I mean, not really like that. It's just that we have been apart for more than 50 years, from 1949, so we have our own living style. Taiwan is more traditional, there is a more traditional way to live. In 1960 something China had the cultural revolution, was it Mao Zedong, yeah? He destroyed most of the Chinese culture, so we maintained the culture. In China, they set up their own way of living but in Taiwan we kept on going the traditional way. In Taiwan there are a lot of Chinese mainlanders now coming to learn how to be traditionally Chinese.

Joy used tradition (e.g., living style) and historical reasons (e.g., that Taiwan was not influenced by the Cultural Revolution) as markers of cultural legitimacy. In a process of small culture formation, she used her own discourse of Chinese culture, or arguably that of Taiwan, to argue that Taiwan and not the PRC is the true representative of traditional Chinese culture. Having clarified that despite not being Chinese—which for her meant not being a citizen of the PRC—she explained what Chinese culture consists of:

Chinese culture is a way of life, food, festivals. We have three major festivals, the majority of the people know Chinese New Year, in China and Taiwan we spend a whole month celebrating that and in here maybe one day. The way we eat, we set a time to eat the food [...]. Lunch at always 12.00 pm, dinner at 7.00 pm, it is not like in here that is just when you are hungry. In Taiwan it is just time and you have to do it. We have to do it because we come from a farming culture [...]. Now is not farming anymore but we have it set.

The accounts of Ting and Joy show how the two teachers used the same process of small culture formation to construct their status as legitimate cultural subjects. That position seemed to be important for them as teachers who were in a position to influence the pupils.

In conclusion, the analysis of these findings reveals that all the teachers constructed Chinese culture differently according to their own locations and trajectories of experience (e.g., their provenance or their family background). Nevertheless, they all used their own discourses of and about Chinese culture to

reinforce [their subjective] concepts of Chinese cultural authenticity and legitimacy. These two concepts were important because, as discussed in the next section, they informed teachers' agency and what motivated them to teach Chinese culture in the classrooms.

Teachers' agency: Different motivations to teach culture

This last section centres on the concept of agency and on how it was central in the classrooms, from the perspective of the teachers. Van Lier (2004) explains that agency is a central concept in learning in many ways that include motivation, autonomy, and investment. Agency can be interpreted as movement, as an effort leading to a change of state either literal or figurative. For the purpose of this chapter, I use the idea of agency to discuss how the teachers' personal interest and motivation to teach culture impacted in how they saw their role as educators and on how they wanted to shape their relationships with the pupils.

As teachers worked on incorporating what they interpreted as Chinese culture into their classroom teaching (e.g., through fables with moral teachings), they all wanted the school to be a locus for Chinese cultural preservation and transmission. Although teachers constructed Chinese culture according to their personal trajectories, they all shared the belief that teaching culture was an important way to instil traditional Chinese values and contribute to the personal improvement of pupils.

Convinced that forming pupils as individuals was part of her role of educator at Deer River, Ting argued the school taught Chinese values to make pupils "better people":

We transmit Chinese values. [...] I want them to be better people.

Other teachers were not only concerned about the importance of Chinese culture for their pupils' personal development, but also about promoting Chinese culture in the wider society. Nala explained how she saw her role as educator beyond the educational remit of the school:

I started to teach for the local British people in higher education. Then I started to teach in the Chinese community school. I just feel I want my culture to be recognised not just by our own children but also by the local people.

Nala's desire for cultural recognition resonates with some of the literature on Chinese community schooling (e.g., Francis et al. 2005a, 2005b) which emphasises that teachers and parents wanted to foster the recognition of their culture in a society where they perceived themselves as a minority. This position also aligns with the cultural agenda of Apple Valley which included the promotion of Chinese culture to the broader society. However, in this study the importance of teaching culture to foster a sense of Chinese cultural recognition in the society did not find great currency amongst the teachers, who, in contrast, focused on more personal reasons such as the desire to create meaningful relationships with their pupils.

Stressing the sentimental value that she attributed to Chinese culture, Alice explained that she taught in the hope that her pupils could one day remember her with affection:

I want them [pupils] to learn about my culture. I am happy to be Chinese. If I go back to China I wish that they could remember me. I would like them to think: "Oh, my teacher taught me about these skills as a way to learn Chinese culture. Remembering this teacher for me it's a fantastic thing".

Although she lamented a lack of support from the school, Alice felt that that sense of reward coming from the children pushed her to invest in the teaching of culture:

Nobody cares if you teach culture like festivals to the children. You do it or not, it does not matter. It's the same for all the teachers. Nobody pushes you to teach them anything extra about culture. That's very funny because to some children you teach them culture and it sounds like "oh I didn't know that". I think that is rewarding for the teachers as well.

Alice put real effort into promoting Chinese culture in the classroom in what she believed was the pupils' best interests. Rose shared the same view and argued that "the school has its own goals but I still put extra work and do my own thing for the children".

The accounts of Rose, Ting, Nala, Lirong, and Alice demonstrate how teachers constructed their own personal agency in different ways. Teachers appeared to be driven by three key beliefs about the importance of Chinese culture in their teaching: the desire to build up a meaningful relationship with pupils; to improve pupils as individuals; and, to promote Chinese culture within and outside the schools.

Next, I focus on pupils' perspectives to investigate how they understood and negotiated the teaching of Chinese culture in the classrooms with their teachers.

6.2.2 Pupils' engagement with classroom teaching

Here I draw on the concept of received curriculum (Kelly, 1999), which refers to the reality of students' experiences, to explore how pupils responded to the classroom teaching of culture as promoted by the schools and implemented by their teachers (i.e., through textbook contents and fables). Drawing both on excerpts from the focus group sessions with the pupils and on observational data, I discuss how such negotiation of the teaching and learning of culture impacted on and was affected by the relationships and interactions between pupils and teachers. In so doing, my analysis was informed by an ecological approach which considers dynamic elements in the classrooms such as pupils-teachers interaction, their relationship, and agency (van Lier, 2004; Creese & Blackledge, 2010).

As ecological perspectives consider interaction, amongst other factors, in this section, I discuss how pupils digested and interpreted the textbook-centred teaching of culture and their teachers' efforts to teach culture through stories, fables, and extra materials. The analysis of findings sheds light on the issues that emerged, for example, the ways in which the teaching of culture, including the language aspect of it, impacted on the classroom dynamics and relationships between pupils and teachers. In so doing, I draw both on focus group excerpts and on research field notes taken during my classroom observations. The

research field notes are valuable as they report a number of incidents where the teaching of culture was proposed to pupils through fables and stories that were either read, narrated or shown using audio visuals (e.g., YouTube videos and DVDs).

As far as the use of textbooks and other teaching resources was concerned, pupils echoed the concerns previously expressed by teachers. During the focus group at Deer River School pupils lamented the textbooks' lack of relevance to their daily life:

Julian: The school is very repetitive. The things that we learn are always the same, over and over again, they are not relevant to normal life, it's all about stories of animals and things like that. When you have language classes at school you should learn how to talk to people in normal day situations.

Roy: We just use textbooks in Chinese. Teaching is largely based on textbooks and it's not really fun at all.

I later use this excerpt in chapter 5 to discuss how pupils did not seem to see any great benefit from being exposed to a Chinese language only environment. However, for the purpose of this chapter, I want to highlight the point that Julian and Roy stressed how the irrelevance of the topics, and repetitiveness impacted on their own motivation to learn. As they discussed how the classroom teaching was "all about stories of animals and things like that", the pupils expressed disengagement and possibly a lack of understanding of what their teacher wanted to convey to them.

Despite the efforts of the teachers to bring Chinese culture to life beyond the textbooks, the responses of the pupils were not necessarily enthusiastic. The first incident that I discuss to illustrate this point centres on the narration of a traditional Chinese fable at Apple Valley School, the fable of "the frog of the bottom of the well" (井底之蛙 *jǐng dǐ zhī wā*). The fable talks about a frog who used to live a happy life at the bottom of a well. One day a turtle arrives at the well and she starts to suggest to the frog that there is a whole outside world. The most common interpretation of the fable centres on the fact that the frog, who is not keen on accepting alternative perspectives of the world, is

condemned to remain bounded within her well and the metaphor of the 井底之蛙 *jǐng dǐ zhī wā* is used to indicate a narrow-minded person. Here is the excerpt from my research field notes which illustrate the incident:

The teacher shows a short video in Chinese with the fable of 井底之蛙 *jǐng dǐ zhī wā* <frog of the bottom of the well>. Pupils laugh. She asks them to interpret the story with no success. She then explains the moral behind the fable: some people are narrow-minded and presumptuous and see nothing beyond their own small world. Pupils start to question her interpretation. One asks “how can a frog speak to a turtle?” Others make jokes and ask if only Chinese frogs can talk and if they necessarily speak Mandarin. The teacher seems a bit annoyed and replies: “The point is not if they can talk or not. The point is what they want to teach you. 你们听得明白吗? *Nimen ting de mingbai ma?* <Is it clear?>. Pupils continue to tease her and another one makes a point that “To be able to teach they [animals] need to be able speak anyway”.

As discussed earlier on by Ting, many teachers taught Chinese language through proverbs and fables in the hope that pupils would interiorise values and moral teaching. However, here it is evident that pupils challenged the moral of the fable proposed by their teacher as it did not seem to have any meaning to them or their lives. As pupils laughed and teased the teacher, their lack of engagement affected the intent of the teacher to instil a sense of [Chinese] morality.

The second incident shows how a linguistic misunderstanding seemed to undermine the effectiveness of a lesson on Chinese culture and geography:

The teacher [name] is teaching Chinese geography using a PP presentation that she prepared. She explains in English with key Chinese words (like 地图 *dìtú* <map>). Children seem interested and look at the slides showing mountains and rivers. The teacher asks the classroom if they know what the map of China looks like. She then says that is a rooster. Her pronunciation sounds like “roaster”. The pupils get very animated and start to tease her asking if the “rooster is a roaster because it’s a roasted rooster”. She

does not immediately understand the issue and what is funny about her explanation.

(from research field notes, Apple Valley School, ON).

Although this study is not guided by linguistic ethnography, I will use Creese and Blackledge's (2010) work on classroom ecologies in Chinese community schools to make sense of this incident. My first observation concerns how language impacted on the interaction between pupils and teacher as the teacher choose to use English and not Chinese to explain her slides. Discussing the language practices in the schools, I explore in chapter 5 how teachers used ideas of native speakerism to claim a certain authority. Following Kramsch (1998), I also argue there that such authority was associated to authenticity and legitimacy of language use, as Chinese was the principal language of community education.

In contrast, this incident demonstrates how the teacher's choice to use English to convey and explain impacted on her interaction with her pupils who pursued the chance to contest her authority as non-native (English) speaker. In her interview excerpt, which I discussed in the previous chapter, Rose explained that she believed in the benefits of using translanguaging practices during her teaching. As in this particular incident she chose to use English, pupils used their status as English native speakers—as her pupils were all born and schooled in the UK—to play with her [mis]pronunciation ("roaster" rather than "rooster"). Arguably, as the teacher herself replaced English with Mandarin as the teaching language, and thus gave up her authority as native speaker, she exposed herself to the ridicule of the pupils. Here we can see how not only what was taught as Chinese culture, but also how it was taught and the language through which it was taught impacted on the pupils-teacher interaction.

6.2.3 Summary

In the classrooms, the teaching and learning of culture were the result of a process enacted between pupils and their teachers in which ideas of interaction, interrelation, and agency were central. As pupils' and teachers' had different expectations and motivations to learn and teach (i.e., pupils wanted to learn about culture in real life situations, whilst some teachers were more concerned

about instilling a sense of Chinese morality), a number of issues became apparent.

Two main conclusions emerge from this section. First, a gulf emerged in pupils' and teachers' understandings of how culture should be taught. Whilst, as shown in the previous section, teachers wanted to transmit a sense of Chinese morality through language and particularly fables and legends, pupils wanted to learn things that could be relevant to their day-to-day lives. As this contrast emerged and the data showed how pupils openly contested the ways in which the teachers introduced Chinese culture, a second conclusion emerged related to the representation of Chinese pupils in the context of British community schooling and in the wider education system. The literature often focuses on their educational achievements, depicting them as a successful ethnic minority (Francis & Archer, 2005a; Archer & Francis, 2007). Stereotypical representations have recurred as well within educational research, where British-Chinese pupils' learning attitudes have often been depicted as conformist and deferent if not actually passive (Woodrow & Sham, 2001). In contrast, the pupil-teacher interactions and the pupils' statements about culture showed a more vibrant image. The pupils in this study played a major role in the dynamics of the schools, as they engaged with cultural activities, but also critiqued the pedagogies of the schools such as the centrality of the textbooks and even challenged their teachers. Being far from passive recipients of education, they demonstrated strong opinions about what made the teaching of culture relevant or irrelevant for them and what they wished to learn at school, i.e., something they could connect with in their daily lives.

6.3 Cultural activities: Learning culture through experience

Here I discuss how pupils engaged with the experiential learning of culture (i.e., through festivals and celebrations) proposed by the schools and introduced in 6.1.

Previous studies on CCS tend to refer to "cultural activities" as complementary elements to the formal classroom teaching and learning and their value for pupils and adults is not discussed in depth. For instance, in their study Francis et al. (2009a; 2009b) argued that fixed discourses of culture as a real entity

transmitted through teaching and extra activities (i.e., calligraphy and music) are often used by the schools to signify Chinese culture to both Chinese and western audiences. However, their study did not investigate how participants understood the idea of “experiencing Chinese culture”. In contrast, my research findings revealed that pupils who had the chance to be involved in different ‘cultural activities’—mostly at Apple Valley School—highly valued the opportunity of experiencing Chinese culture as a way to [re]connect with their roots.

At the time of my data collection, Deer River School had few resources to invest in extra activities and thus the pupils in FG3 did not have direct experience of taking part in cultural activities. Hence, the data that I discuss pertain to Apple Valley School where more resources were dedicated to culture-centred extracurricular activities.

Two subthemes emerged centring respectively on the perspectives of pupils who had never lived in China (FG2) and those of pupils who had recently migrated from China to the UK (FG3).

6.3.1 “We can understand how our ancestors lived”

I start the discussion of my findings by exploring the perspectives of pupils who were born and had always lived in the UK. They had different levels of command of Mandarin and have all been engaged in different extracurricular activities (e.g., art classes, celebration of Chinese New Year).

The previous theme demonstrated how, in the context of formal classroom teaching, pupils often struggled to engage, for instance, with stories and fables proposed by their teachers. In contrast, my research field notes record how pupils valued celebrations and festivals as an alternative to the routine of their lessons:

The opportunity to be part of some culture-focused activities is generating the pupils’ interest and enthusiasm. In the classrooms they are starting to prepare to perform for the Chinese New Year. Rose’s pupils are preparing a Chinese song and when I asked Grace how she felt she said

that she is happy to perform, “dress up like a traditional Chinese” and do something different.

(from research field notes, Apple Valley School, ON)

The excerpt refers to the celebration of the Chinese New Year at Apple Valley School. Another incident recorded in my research field notes centres on a play on the Ming dynasty that Kitty’s teacher had organised:

The pupils attending year 4 have been working on a play on Li Shizhen (famous physician of the Ming dynasty). Kitty said that “although we don’t have any costumes and the performance is just for our classmates, it’s great because we can understand how our ancestors lived”.

(from field notes, Apple Valley School, ON)

Kitty was not just happy about performing; she valued how through a performance she could gain more knowledge about her ancestors and learn historical facts related to her own heritage. In fact, the same field note records how she then pointed out that “at [her mainstream] school everything [history lessons] is about Romans and Victorians and never about Chinese”.

The idea that experiencing culture through particular activities was valuable in helping pupils to understand more about their ancestors and heritage also emerged from the discussion with FG2. When I explored with pupils the importance of community schooling, they first focused on language and other skills such as group work. Then, as they discussed a school activity on the 兵马俑 *bīng mǎ yǒng* <Terracotta Army>, the conversation moved to the importance of learning about Chinese history. Grace suggested to one of her classmates that it could have been interesting for him to learn about ancestors:

Grace: {speaks to Lucas} Ancestors? Maybe you are related to one of the most famous emperors.

Leah: Someone told me that [name] is from the imperial family.

Lucas: None of them, no.

Danny: My great-great uncle was actually a soldier from the army.

{They all whisper and show surprise}

Eva: The Imperial Army?

Danny: No, like a soldier to protect China.

Grace: Like the Terracotta Army?

Danny: No, not that one. THE ARMY that really protects the people of China.

Similarly to Kitty, these pupils were interested in discovering something about the ancient Chinese, their ancestors, and possibly about themselves. As far as the process through which pupils constructed culture was concerned, they all used what Holliday (2011) calls cultural resources (i.e., elements of a society) and drew them into their statements about culture (the importance of having famous ancestors). More importantly, they expressed an interest in Chinese culture because it could be relevant to their own roots. In addition, because of the cultural activities at the school they began to think about “culture” as informing their own lives—that they too were linked to these cultural artefacts.

The next section explores how FG1 pupils who had recently migrated to the UK at the time of this study engaged with cultural activities and the idea of experiencing Chinese culture.

6.3.2 “We can feel that we are part of China”

A further perspective on the importance of learning Chinese culture through experience— such as involvement in celebrations at the school— was provided by pupils who took part in FG1 at Apple Valley School. Unlike those who participated in FG2 and FG3, these students had lived in China for most of their lives. When I asked them what was the relevance of attending a Chinese community school, Meili replied: “You don’t need to study Chinese [language] but you could forget Chinese culture”. Convinced of the importance of maintaining a connection with what she perceived as Chinese culture, Meili focused her cartoon storyboard on the different cultural activities offered by the school (Figure 6.2). In her storyboard, she depicted three key moments where

culture could be learnt through experience: celebrating Chinese New Year and eating Chinese food, visiting the local museum which had a Chinese collection, and playing Chinese chess.

She then illustrated her storyboard explaining why experiencing and learning Chinese culture was important for her although she had lived in China most of her life:

Meili: In the Chinese school because we have Chinese New Year we do many interesting things and we know many cultural things for Chinese [Chinese cultural things].

Sara: Although you lived in China for many years you still feel that is important coming here and learning the culture?

Meili: Yes, so we can visit the museum. They have many Chinese cultures, we can play Chinese chess and international chess, how they are different.

Use this storyboard to tell the story of one learning moment at the Chinese Community School: something has made you learn about yourself, about being Chinese or anything else important for you. Feel free to use the space as you want with words, drawings etc.

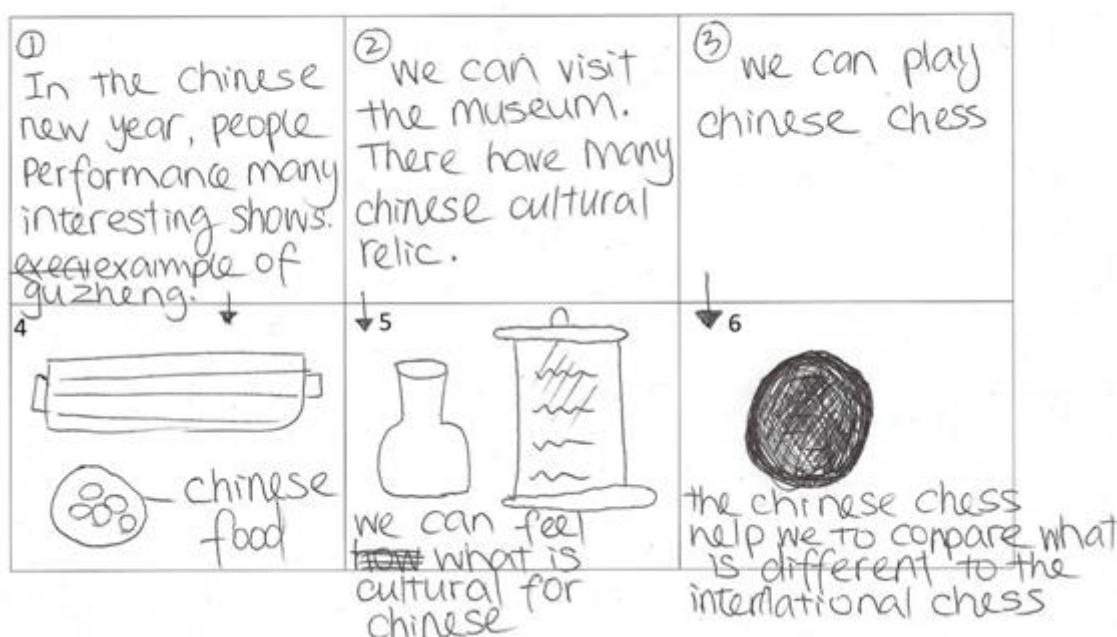


Figure 6.2 Cartoon storyboard created by Meili.

Meili previously expressed a concern about “forgetting about Chinese culture” as she lived in the UK. Then she explained how experiencing particular moments at the school helped to overcome her concern and still make her feel

connected with her life back in China (“we can visit the museum”, “we can play chess”, “we can feel what is cultural for Chinese”).

Her classmate Yang represented in his cartoon storyboard how the celebration of the Chinese New Year at the school was a meaningful moment:

Use this storyboard to tell the story of one learning moment at the Chinese Community School: something has made you learn about yourself, about being Chinese or anything else important for you. Feel free to use the space as you want with words, drawings etc.

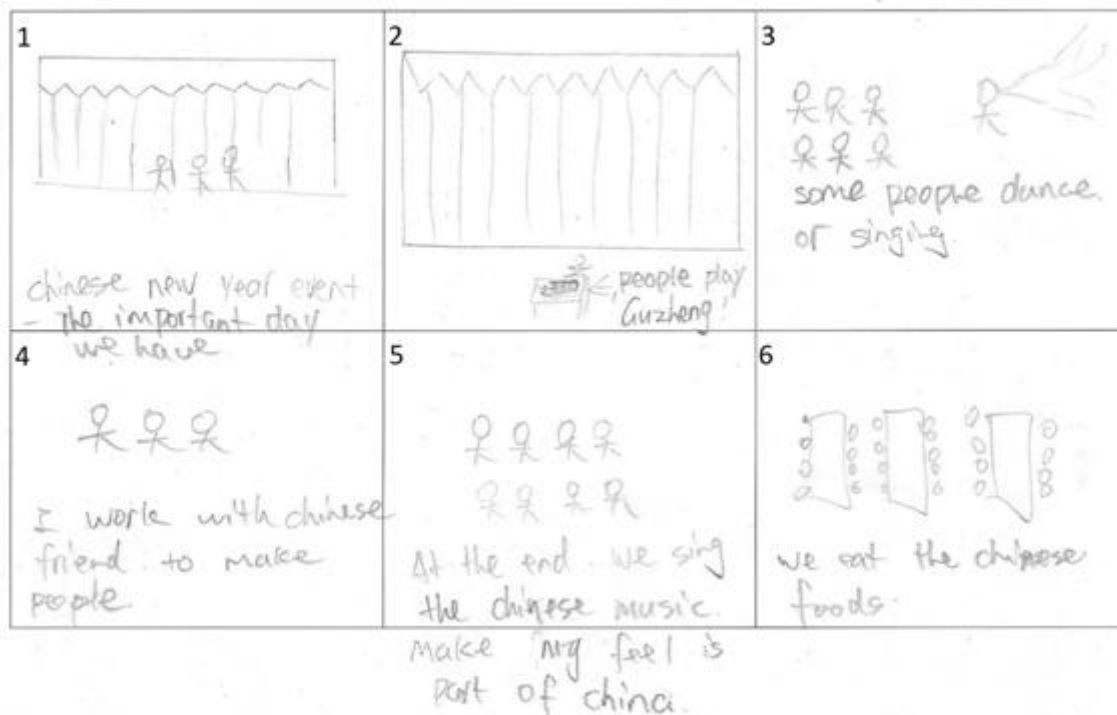


Figure 6.3Cartoon storyboard created by Yang.

Yang brought together different elements such as the importance of celebrating, working with classmates, and eating together to express the value of the experiential learning of Chinese culture at the school. As he explained in the focus group:

Yang: Here we have Chinese New Year; it's an important day and some people play 古筝 *guzheng* and some people dance Chinese dancing and singing. I have to work with my Chinese friends to make people happy and at the end we can sing Chinese music and we can feel that we are part of China.

As far as the construction of culture as artefact is concerned, the accounts of Meili and Yang aligned with those found in previous studies (Archer et

al., 2010; Francis et al., 2008) describing how within CCS participants tend to construct a tangible and replicable vision of culture through particular artefacts (e.g., festivals, literature). Given the similarities between the positions of Meili and Yang and the findings from other studies, made me interested in exploring the process behind participants' constructions of culture, particularly through the use of Holliday's (1999) small culture paradigm. As Meili and Yang deconstructed Chinese culture through particular artefacts (e.g., Chinese food and music), and they expressed a need for cohesion with other Chinese people ("we can feel that we are part of China"), they also created building blocks for a small culture formation.

The literature review illustrated how CCS in the UK has traditionally had a strong focus is what is termed transmission of Chinese culture, often framed as a matter of preservation against risks of dilution (Lu, 2001; Francis et al., 2008; Francis et al., 2009; Archer et al., 2010). On the one hand, Meili, and the other pupils who understood Chinese culture as made up by food, history, and archaeological heritage constructed what Francis et al. (2008) term "a sort of cultural package which could be taught and replicated through generations" (p. 108).

However, pupils also moved towards a process of small culture formation, as experiencing Chinese culture at the school was a necessary step to feel part of the Chinese community. In so doing, they used particular cultural products to connect with their lives in China and their Chinese identities. Although in their accounts fixed constructions of culture apparently resisted, the analysis revealed how pupils used them in a dynamic process of identity construction that contrasts with the ideas of fixity and ossification critiqued in the literature (e.g., Archer et al. 2010; Francis et al., 2010).

6.3.3 Summary

The third theme guiding this chapter investigated how pupils understood the focus of the schools on learning culture through experience. As the analysis showed, pupils demonstrated greater engagement with the cultural activities offered by the schools (i.e., celebration of festivals) than with the formal classroom teaching. Pupils valued cultural activities because they were not only

interesting but also meaningful, as they helped them to learn something about themselves (e.g., how their ancestors lived) or, for those pupils who had recently migrated to the UK, to reconnect with their life in China.

Overall, a conclusion can be drawn from this section that concerns the ways in which participants understood and valued the transmission of culture in the context of the schools. In the literature review, I discussed how previous studies on CCS (e.g., Francis & Archer 2005a, 2005b; Archer 2010) argue that parents and teachers tend to attribute more importance than do pupils to the transmission of Chinese culture. This study offers a different perspective which reconsiders the perspectives of pupils on culture and how they valued it differently, but not necessarily less, than adults did. In fact, the analysis shows that pupils actually valued learning Chinese culture through the experience of cultural activities, whereas what they did not engage with was the textbook-centred approach to the learning of culture and more widely the configuration of culture through symbolic meanings that they could not access (e.g., the meaning of particular fables).

6.4 Parents and the transmission of Chinese culture

This section concludes the chapter by exploring how parents valued the role of the schools in transmitting Chinese culture (6.4.1) and what projected images of culture informed their understandings of the significance of Chinese culture (6.4.2).

6.4.1 The importance of learning Chinese culture

All the parents expressed a strong interest in and commitment towards their children's cultural education. In the belief that learning Chinese culture was as important as learning Mandarin, parents put a lot of effort into pushing their children to become engaged both with classroom teaching and extracurricular activities.

Chloe, whose child had just started to attend Deer River School, was one of the most enthusiastic parents and she emphasised how community schooling was important as a way for her daughter to engage with Chinese culture:

She [daughter] needs to learn about culture, literature, music but also I want her to see Chinese culture, like the celebration of festivals, to see the lion dance at the Chinese New Year. To know what the red pockets are used for. She knows that inside they got money, and why we celebrate it. [...] She needs to learn with other Chinese people.

Chloe's construction of Chinese culture resonates not only with what Holliday (2011b, 2013) terms 'big-C' cultural artefacts such as literature and the arts, but also cultural practice (e.g., celebration of festivals). As she associated such cultural products with one Chinese national culture, Chloe—who was Malaysian and had never been to China—seemed to support the existence of one universal Chinese culture. She also introduced the idea that learning culture at the school is important because there is the support of a wider community. This idea resonates with the provision of social capital for the families at the schools discussed in 4.2.4. Bourdieu (1986) contends that the concept of social capital refers to the resources which are linked to the possession of a durable (social) network or in-group membership. As the analysis below shows, the belief that Chinese culture could be co-constructed within the community to the advantage of pupils emerged recurrently in the other parents' accounts.

A further example of parental enthusiasm for the cultural agenda of the school was given by Lan at Apple Valley School. Similarly to Chloe, she valued the opportunity for pupils to learn Chinese cultural practices at the school with others from the Chinese community:

I want him [son] to come here and stay with other Chinese people. The school supports language and culture, like we celebrate the Moon Festival, and he is very good because he likes origami and stuff like that.

Shuoqian was also convinced that engagement with other people was the best way for pupils to engage with Chinese culture. As she also projected a view of Chinese culture made up of particular cultural artefacts, she expressed the hope that “through communication with other people” children could internalise certain Chinese cultural practices. She explained:

Through communication with other people in our community at the school they [children] learn about

Chinese culture like what we do in the festivals. They know few certain things about culture, like wearing red dresses in the Chinese New Year.

For example, at Apple Valley School, Shuoqian valued the idea that children could internalise Chinese manners and behaviour, as shown below:

The school is important to learn Chinese manners and behaviour. For example, if people come to visit you and bring a present and you are Chinese you would say “oh don’t do that”. That does not mean you don’t want it. It’s just a polite way to say, it means that you will take it. Do you know what I say? It’s a manner. It’s a culture. We all do it. Also when guests go home we will take the guest downstairs in person. For the young kids we talk about the festivals, for the elderly about manners.

To support her example, Shuoqian used the argument of a supposed universality of certain Chinese cultural products (e.g., the ways in which people deal with guests). In claiming that Chinese people all react to presents in the same way (“we all do it”), she constructed a particular image of Chinese culture where group members all perform particular actions in particular ways.

Chloe was also convinced that children needed to interiorise through the school “how to do things in a certain way”, which in her view, was the Chinese way:

Chloe: They need to come to the school not just to learn the language, but to learn the culture, how Chinese do things in a certain way, to feel Chinese, they need to do things the Chinese way.

Sara: What’s the Chinese way of doing things?

Chloe: Like humble, modest, not showing too much. They need to achieve that. Respect the elderly, take care of the old ones.

In conclusion, parents, as did teachers, highly valued the cultural agenda of the schools and, in particular, the fact that their children could reinforce their sense of Chinese group membership through their involvement in the wider school community and improve as individuals.

6.4.2 Parents' projected images of Chinese culture

This section explores how parents' projected images of Chinese culture influenced the ways in which they interpreted the importance of the cultural agenda of the schools.

In her interview, Chloe gave several examples of how she understood Chinese culture and its importance in children's education. She then added that all the Chinese values and behaviours that children need to learn are coded in "the Four Books" (i.e., Chinese Confucian books):

[...] In Chinese [culture] we always strongly value family, respect the elderly, take care of the children. How do you behave in school it's all in the books, the 四书五经 *sishu wujing* <Four Books and Five Classics>. They are like the Bible for you, like religion, you don't need to learn it all but you take the major teachings.

It can be observed how Chloe supported her construction of Chinese culture, as made up by particular products, using the 四书五经 *sishu wujing* to validate her statements. Citing Baumann (1996), Holliday (1999) argues that, although small cultures might form rapidly, the process of culture-formation requires social continuity and validation from the past. Chloe not only looked for such validation from the past in the Chinese literary tradition, but she drew a direct connection with [her understanding of] my own culture (i.e., coming from a Catholic country) where, in her opinion, the Bible was a source of authority.

A further detailed account of Chinese culture made up by cultural products was offered by Philip who supported his statements about culture with his interpretation of the Confucian tradition:

Our main thing in Chinese culture is your family tree. Like how you worship your ancestors. God is not important in our life. Practical things are important. We can take any god, we tolerate everything, is not very important. It is more about Confucius and our family, friends, other Chinese people. {laughs} It's our charity which goes to people close to us. Family is important to us.

Although Philip and Chloe projected particular images of Chinese culture, they also used them to create a connection with me as they drew parallels between our life trajectories. Whilst Chloe compared the Chinese Four Books and Five Classics to the Bible, Philip grounded the argument of our commonality of experience of culture on the existence of great ancestors:

Chinese are keen on our traditions. We are proud of our culture like you are proud of the Romans. We have a very long history. Chinese culture is about literature, festivals, food. We don't want to cut the relationship with our culture even if we are here, like you don't.

To provide me with an understanding of the importance of retaining a connection with Chinese culture in a migrant context, Philip suggested that “we are proud of our culture like you are proud of the Romans”. Echoing Baumann (1996) and Holliday (1999), even describing individualised practice (i.e., “we can take any god”), Philip looked for validation in the past and in a sense of continuity (“we don't want to cut the relationship”).

As far as their small culture constructions were concerned, parents consistently suggested the universality of certain Chinese cultural products (e.g., behaviour, literature). However, some of them acknowledged a more diverse scenario which contrasted with the idea of cultural ossification in the context of Chinese migrant communities critiqued in the literature (e.g., Ang 1998, Archer et al., 2010).

At Apple Valley School, Albert described how the core of Chinese culture is the same, but that different communities can display differences:

For myself, [Chinese culture] it's how you learn to be a person, like respect the elders and help the family and also do what you can for the rest of the community where you are living. Those who live in different parts of the world have differences, but the philosophy doesn't change.

As he emphasised the importance of Chinese philosophy in shaping people's behaviours and values, Albert touched on the idea that minor differences exist across Chinese communities. Rita extended his point by describing how

manners are one cultural product that can vary according to the geographical location of the different Chinese communities:

The core of Chinese culture is the same but every Chinese community like Malaysian and Taiwanese has their variations, in terms of manners and etiquette. Like in our school because is a Mandarin school, the teachers tend to come from Mainland China and they tend not to use “please” or “thank you”, I think some people perceived as rude but not from the Mainland Chinese perspective, there are cultural hierarchies here as well, we don’t see it like that {Laughs}. By all means, I see a difference between Mainland China and anything outside especially as their manners.

Rita used her statements about Chinese culture, and, in particular, the significance of Chinese “manners and etiquette”, to make sense of the behaviour of Chinese people in the school. At the same time, she acknowledged the existence of differences across the Chinese communities around the world and even hinted at the existence of “cultural hierarchies”. As emerged from the analysis of the teachers’ accounts, parents too constructed Chinese culture differently accordingly to their own locations and trajectories of experience. As far as their constructions of culture were concerned, parents, on the one hand, configured culture through particular products (e.g., literature, history and also values and behaviour). On the other hand, they constructed building blocks to form their own small culture, and as they used statements of and about culture, they also looked for ways in which our trajectories could connect.

6.4.3 Summary

In conclusion, the analysis demonstrated how the parents’ desire for their children to learn in an environment conducive to Chinese culture was strong. As they enthusiastically supported the cultural agenda of the schools, parents were motivated by a desire for their children to interiorise Chinese values and behaviours. Furthermore, they valued the provision of a community space where their children could be supported by others to engage with Chinese culture. As far as their constructions of Chinese culture were concerned, parents consistently emphasised the universality of certain Chinese cultural products (e.g., behaviour, literature). At the same time, they also acknowledged the

existence of different Chinese small cultures including those they were representatives of. This finding resonated with the teachers' constructions of Chinese culture and, at the same time, it countered the idea of cultural ossification in the context of Chinese migrant communities often critiqued in the literature (e.g., Ang 1998, Archer et al., 2010).

Summary and conclusions

The purpose of this chapter was to investigate how pupils, parents, and school staff understood Chinese culture vis-à-vis the agenda of the schools that, consistent with the literature on community schooling (Li & Wu, 2008; Archer et al. 2010), had an explicit institutional focus on the maintenance and transmission of Chinese culture. The schools promoted Chinese culture as historical product (e.g., contemporary, traditional cultures) that could be transmitted to pupils and implemented their agenda at two different levels: formal teaching in the classrooms—where the curriculum was textbook-centred—and informal teaching through a range of activities (e.g., celebration of festivals). The promotion of Chinese culture was understood in the agenda of the schools as important both for those involved and for the wider community.

In the classrooms, the teaching and learning of culture was the result of a process between pupils and their teachers where ideas of interaction, interrelation, and agency were central (van Lier, 2004; 2012). Although both pupils and teachers agreed on the disadvantages of taking a textbook-centred approach to the teaching of culture (i.e., contents were perceived as removed from real life), a gulf emerged in their expectations and motivations to teach and learn of Chinese culture. Whilst pupils wanted to learn about culture in real life situations they could relate to, teachers were more concerned about instilling a sense of Chinese morality. As a result, pupils expressed dissatisfaction and disengagement with the classroom teaching of culture which they considered often too removed from their daily lives. In contrast, the analysis in 6.3 showed how pupils valued the experiential learning of culture through cultural activities such as plays and celebrations through which they had the opportunity to [re]connect with their family and personal histories.

Parents on their side were enthusiastic supporters of the cultural agenda of the schools being motivated, as were the teachers, by a desire for their children to interiorise Chinese values and behaviours and also to learn in a supportive community space.

Three main conclusions can be drawn from the findings in this chapter. First, the findings of this chapter contrast with previous research on CCS (e.g., Francis & Archer, 2005a, 2005b; Archer 2010) that argue that adults attribute more importance than do pupils to the transmission of Chinese culture. In fact, in 6.2 and 6.3 the analysis has shown how pupils valued the teaching of Chinese culture in the schools, but did so differently from the adults. Whilst their parents and teachers were concerned about the internalising of values and beliefs, pupils were interested in how Chinese culture could be meaningful for their family histories and their own identities (e.g., pupils were interested in their ancestors).

The second conclusion concerns the dynamic nature of participants' constructions of Chinese culture which were analysed through the lens of the 'small culture' approach suggested by Holliday (1999). The analysis of data demonstrated how participants used their statements about culture both to make sense of the cultural agenda of the schools, and, at the same time, to attribute cohesion to their perceived Chinese group. Furthermore, as they all constructed and projected their own images of Chinese culture, participants often sought validation from the past (e.g., parents referring to the Confucian tradition) and at the same time they brought in their own life experiences (e.g., migrant pupils constructing Chinese culture through products such as festivals that they connected with their life in China). Although in this study fixed constructions of culture (e.g., how culture can be signified through symbols and behaviours and taught as a model) were apparently resistant, the analysis revealed adults and pupils constructed a diversity of perspectives on Chinese culture. As they discussed, attributed, and contested the significance to Chinese culture, they became engaged in dynamic processes that contrast with ideas of fixity and ossification presented in the literature (e.g. Archer et al. 2010; Francis et al., 2010).

The third conclusion concerns the representation of Chinese pupils in literature on community and mainstream schooling where they are often portrayed as either a successful ethnic minority (Francis & Archer, 2005a, 2005b; Archer & Francis, 2007) or as conformist and even passive learners (Woodrow & Sham, 2001). In contrast, the pupils who participated in this study played a major role in the dynamics of the schools not only as they engaged with cultural activities but also critiqued the pedagogies of the schools [i.e., centrality of the textbooks] and even challenged their teachers. Being far from passive recipients of education, they demonstrated strong opinions about what made the teaching of culture relevant or irrelevant for them and what they wished to learn at school, which was, something they could connect with in their daily lives.

Chapter 7 Pupils' identities

Introduction

This chapter concludes the presentation and discussion of the study's findings by exploring the ways in which pupils' experiences of Chinese community schooling—and particularly their constructions of language and culture—impacted on their presented identities. The ways in which adults confirmed and contested pupils' identities are also discussed. Participants' accounts are set in the context of the teaching and learning taking place in the classrooms and in the broader social context of the schools. The chapter is guided by the fourth research question:

How do pupils present and interpret their identity based on their constructions of language, culture, and involvement in Chinese community schools? How are these identities confirmed and contested by others?

The conceptual map on the next page presents the structure of this chapter; it outlines both the themes and subthemes articulated throughout and indicates how they connect to the focal issue of the pupils' identity.

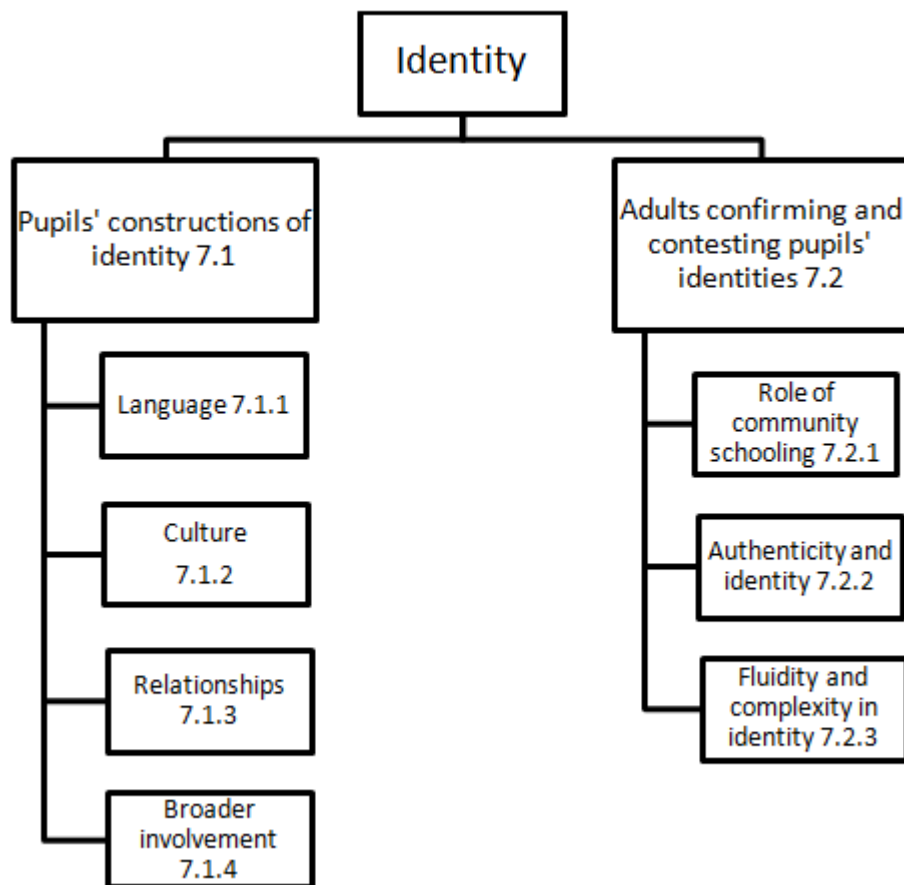


Figure 7.1 Structure of the chapter: Identity.

As discussed in 2.5 vis-à-vis the theorisations of cultural and social identity, the concept of identity is central in the map, as it represents the focus of the research question and so the chapter is divided into two main parts. Section (7.1) investigates how pupils presented and interpreted their identities, while (7.2) explores how parents, teachers, and head teachers confirmed or contested these constructions and presentations. The pupils' own constructions of identity are examined under four main themes: language (7.1.1), culture (7.1.2), relationships (7.1.3), and pupils' involvement in their community schools (7.1.4).

While the research question centers on pupils, the perspectives of parents, teachers, and head teachers were considered important, because, as Collier (2005) points out, identities are not only constructed but also avowed and ascribed by others. Furthermore, identities can be negotiated and contested in interaction with groups and individuals (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Hence, the second part of the chapter (7.2) explores the ways in which adults

confirmed or contested the pupils' identities in terms of: community schooling and group identity (7.2.1), authenticity in Chinese identity (7.2.2), and fluidity and complexity in Chinese identity (7.2.3). A summary concludes the chapter. The next sections explore these themes in relation to the research question.

7.1 Pupils' constructions of identity

As anticipated in the introduction, the pupils' identity constructions were analysed across four main themes. Section 7.1.1 centres on their understanding and use of language (7.1.1); 7.1.2 investigates how pupils' constructions of Chinese culture impacted on what they presented as their identities; 7.1.3 explores how the relationships that pupils developed with friends and teachers impacted on their sense of identity (7.1.3); and, finally, 7.1.4 examines how the overall involvement of pupils at the schools played a role in shaping their self-presentation.

7.1.1 Language, translanguaging, and pupils' identities

In exploring how pupils constructed identity through language, I first discuss the value that pupils attributed to Mandarin—as the focus of the schools—and how, for a number of them, it represented an important identity marker. I draw on the multimodal verbal and visual data that I collected during the visually mediated focus groups with the pupils (see 3.3.2.3). Second, I draw on my observations of the pupils' classroom communicative practices when communicating with peers and teachers to examine and analyse the importance of translanguaging for pupils' identities. These data derive from my research field notes recording observations of formal classroom teaching and informal conversations in the classrooms.

Language as an identity marker: Speaking Mandarin and feeling Chinese

In chapter 5 (5.1.1), I discussed how pupils challenged the schools' focus on Mandarin by constructing a complex vision of Chinese heritage language (CHL) where Mandarin was not the only option, but where other 方言 *fāngyán*, and, particularly Cantonese, made an important contribution to their construct of a Chinese identity.

The data analysed in this section add a further dimension to the discussion of the relationship between the languages spoken by pupils and their construction

of identity (Kramsch, 1998). In fact, for those pupils who had other 方言 *fāngyán* such as Cantonese and Hakka), learning Mandarin also emerged as an important identity marker.

During their focus group, pupils at Deer River school who came from Cantonese-speaking families discussed how learning Mandarin supported them in changing the ways in which they looked at themselves. They explained:

Steve: I would feel more English without the school.

Bruce: Yes, I would actually.

Sara: Would you feel more English?

Steve: Yeah, if I couldn't speak Mandarin at all I would feel more English.

Julian: I would feel more English.

Violet: I feel more Chinese.

Sara: Why do you feel more Chinese?

Lily: Because I go to Chinese school to learn Chinese and this is not something that English kids do.

Roy: At least I can speak Mandarin with people who don't speak Cantonese or English.

In the earlier part of the conversation—previously presented in 5.1 in relation to the construction of CHLs—these pupils had attributed an instrumental value (e.g., enhanced education and career opportunities) to Mandarin. In contrast, the excerpt above shows a changed perception in terms of the value they ascribed to Mandarin. Pupils agreed that speaking Mandarin made them feel “Chinese”. For example, Roy, who had previously stressed how proficiency in Cantonese made him feel “just local” when he visited Hong Kong, also valued the opportunity to engage with the social group of Mandarin speakers. Furthermore, pupils’ changes in self-perception are reflected in the ways in which they contrasted their sense of feeling English and Chinese, as they distanced themselves from other English children. As Lily pointed out, attending a Chinese school is “something English kids don’t do”.

A further example of how pupils acknowledged the impact of Mandarin learning on their identities is provided by the narratives offered by Kitty, Yvonne, and Emily at Apple Valley School. In the following excerpt from FG2—already

discussed in 4.1.1 in relation to pupils' constructions of the role of community schooling—the three pupils introduced the idea that (ethnically) Chinese people need to learn Mandarin in a formal learning environment:

Sara: Why do you come to this school [Apple Valley School]?

Emily: To learn Chinese [Mandarin].

Kitty: We do it to learn Chinese obviously. Because we are Chinese.

Emily: To go to China.

Kitty: Coz if you are Chinese you got to write in Chinese and write letters and all that stuff.

Yvonne: And know how to say it.

Further, during the focus group, Kitty and Yvonne added:

Sara: What types of things are important for somebody to feel Chinese?

Kitty: Language, writing.

Yvonne: Speaking, drawing.

Overall, the pupils' accounts show how they made a connection between languages and social groups through seeking affiliation with Chinese people who speak Mandarin and distancing themselves from English people.

As discussed in 2.5.1 and 2.5.2 as regards the theoretical framework of this study, the concept of social identity and the framework of social identity theory (SIT) are useful in understanding how individuals construct their identity or identities in relation to a perceived membership to a particular group or groups (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Brown, 2000). Pupils from both schools used the Mandarin language skills they acquired through community schooling to seek affiliation with the (perceived) group of Chinese people who, in contrast to themselves and their families, speak neither Cantonese nor English. According to SIT, this type of constructed membership also translates into the need for a positive social identity as generated by favourable comparisons between the in-group (i.e., Chinese people) and relevant out-groups (i.e., English people the pupils distanced themselves from) (Brown, 2000). Finally, as demonstrated by the two excerpts, language can be an important factor in

determining one's individual sense of membership with a particular group (i.e., the group of Mandarin speakers). In fact, according to Kramsch (1998), there is a "natural connection between the language(s) spoken by member of a social group and that group's identity" (p. 65). Hence, the analysis demonstrates how pupils used language as an indicator of their relationship with Mandarin speakers as a group. Although Mandarin had no family relevance for them, they started to attribute some emotional value to the language, because it allowed them to strengthen their status as members of a broader Chinese social group.

The idea that Chinese language proficiency impacts on pupils' understanding of their identities is debated in the literature on CCS in the UK (Archer et al., 2010; Zhang, 2005; Francis et al., 2008, 2009). For example, Francis et al. (2009) found that pupils articulated their experience of language learning as part of their own identity construction process. My data echo this perspective. At the same time, they add further complexity to the theorisation of the relationship between (Chinese) language(s) and identity. In fact, previous literature has failed to explore the value that Mandarin (or Cantonese) can have for pupils to whom it does not represent an HL. Rather, the status of pupils as CHL learners of the language they learn at their community school is assumed rather than investigated.

In contrast, the findings discussed in this study draw attention to the complexity of the language scenario in the Chinese community school classroom and to the importance that such a complex mixture of languages and repertoires has for pupils and, in particular, for their identities as Chinese.

Overall, the findings discussed in this section, along with those in the discussion on CHL presented in 5.1.1, contribute to the theorisation of HL and CHL proposed respectively by Campbell (2000) Li and Duff (2008) (see section 2.3.2). On the one hand, this study confirmed the complexity in the ways in which pupils construct CHLs, and how the concept represents an umbrella term rather than a monolithic entity (see discussion in 5.1.1). On the other hand, my findings suggest that, in the context of community language education, the investigation of pupils' construction of CHLs contributes towards theoretical discussions on language and identity. As different Chinese languages can be

important for pupils in different contexts (i.e., at home, with relatives, when visiting China, with Chinese people speaking other 方言 *fāngyán*), they can negotiate their membership to different groups and, as a result, subscribe to different social identities.

Having discussed the importance of Mandarin as an identity marker for pupils' having other 方言 *fāngyán* as their CHL, the next subtheme investigates pupils' language practices in the classrooms.

Classroom language practices: Translanguaging and identity

This subtheme explores how pupils used languages in the classrooms to interact with one another and with their teachers and how through translanguaging practices pupils negotiated identity positions, agency, and power. As noted in 2.3.3, this study prefers the concept of translanguaging over code-switching for a number of reasons. Although both terms refer to the shift between two or more languages in the same utterance, code-switching focuses on the diglossic separation between languages, whilst translanguaging concerns the flexibility of speakers in drawing on their language resources (Creese & Blackledge, 2015). Furthermore, the concept of translanguaging better suits the focus of this study on pupils' constructions of identity as translanguaging focuses attention not on the languages but on the speakers themselves (García & Li, 2014).

The following excerpt, which is taken from a research field note included in Appendix I, offers an example of how translanguaging can represent a resource for identity performance. Pupils attending year four at Apple Valley School had to prepare a short presentation in Chinese on a topic of their choice. Louis, who had a moderate command of Mandarin, was looking for help from his classmate Jenny to translate a sentence:

Louis: 我不知道中文怎么说 *Wo bu zhidao zhongwen shenme shuo*: <I don't know how to say in Chinese> "how do Chinese make robots"? Jenny help me!

Jenny: OK, 中国人怎么做 *zhongguoren zenme zuo* robot, robot 是 *shi* robot, 是吗 *shi ma*?

Erica: I think it's 器机人 *qijiren* or something like that. 我想不起来 *Wo xiang bu qilai* <I cannot remember>.

At the end of the incident, the teacher corrected Erica who had mixed up the characters for robot: 机器人 *jiqiren*. The pupils all laughed and Erica replied, “I have even created a new word: the 器机人 *qijiren*”.

As discussed in the literature review, in this study I refer to translanguaging as the “flexibility of [bilingual] learners to take control of their own learning, to self-regulate when and how to language, depending on the context in which they’re being asked to perform” (García & Li, 2014, p. 80). Here, it is evident that pupils used language to take control of their own learning as they drew on the full range of their language resources to come up with a solution to Louis’ problem. Furthermore, by showing the ability to respond promptly to the context, Erica demonstrated her own performative competence, a term that Canagarajah (2013) uses to define the ability of translingual speakers—and in particular learners—to use their language resources strategically to transcend rules of specific languages such as, in this case, the order of characters in Chinese. Finally, as the pupils translanguaged across Mandarin and English to support Louis, they also used language to identity their own performance to others. As the excerpt shows, Jenny and Erica performed as Chinese speakers not only in front of their classmates, but also in front of the teacher.

The next excerpts demonstrate how translanguaging could become a way for pupils to perform their identity as successful learners and speakers of Mandarin in contexts where they were evaluated by the teacher. Rose, a teacher-participant in the study, first explained how radicals can change the meaning of different Chinese characters. Then, she called some pupils up to the blackboard to test their understanding; she asked them to select a card with a Chinese character of their choice and to create a sentence around it. The excerpt below, taken from my researcher notes during a classroom observation, focuses on three pupils—Elsa, Christina, and Lucas—with different levels of proficiency in Mandarin:

Rose: 现在是 *xianzai shi* Elsa <now it's Elsa's turn>. Elsa come here. Use whichever character makes sense to you, 没关系 *mei guanxi* <never mind>.

Elsa: Is this one OK? {She chooses 根 *gen*}

Rose: 好的 *hao de*<good>, OK 你觉得是什么? *Ni juede shi shenme* <What do you think that this is?>

Elsa: {She pauses to think} I don't know, 不好意思 *Bu hao yisi* <sorry>. {She returns to her desk}

Rose: 没关系 *mei guanxi* {indicates another character}, Christina 你 知道不知道这个汉子? <Do you know this character?>

Christina: One is 口 *kou*, and one then it's 那 *na*.

Rose: 哪? 是什么意思? *Na? Shi shenme yisi?* <Na? What does it mean?>

Christina: 你在哪里的意思? *Ni zai nali de yisi*<The meaning of "where are you"?>

Rose: So if I say to you 你在哪里? *Ni zai nali?* <Where are you?>

Christina: 我在学校! *Wo zai xuexiao* <I am at school!>

Rose: 好, 你坐一下 *Hao de, ni zuo yixia*. <Good, go to sit>.

Lucas, don't be shy, your turn. 写下来吧。 *Xie xialai ba* <Write> Use 一个 *yi ge* <one> card. {speaks to the other pupils}. I want you all to be the teacher and correct him.

Lucas: 不知道怎么选择 *Bu zhidao zenme xuanzi*. <I don't know which one to choose>.

Rose: I will choose one for you. {she shows the card} 谁知道 *Shei zhidao* the answer? <Who knows the answer?> {Lucas shakes his head}

Elsa: Is the character of "to fail"! I KNOW!

As pupils translanguaged to accomplish the task suggested by the teacher and to be praised, they also demonstrated a degree of performative competence. Being practice-based, performative competence requires creativity, strategic thinking, alertness, and the learners' ability to respond to the context (Canagarajah, 2013). Although pupils tried to use their Chinese language skills

to the best of their ability to impress the teacher, they also made a strategic use of English. We can, for example, see that after her poor performance at the blackboard, Elsa waited for an opportunity to demonstrate that, just like her classmates, she could identify a character.

The last incident analysed in this section draws attention to how, in the classroom, translanguaging practices were also used to exercise agency and power. The excerpt documents a lesson focused on Chinese grammar. Alice, a teacher who was also interviewed for this study, wanted to introduce a vocabulary item, the adverb 都 *dōu*. She started her explanation by giving different possible translations, then she gave some examples of how 都 *dōu* can be used:

Alice: 都 in English means “everyone”. Like we, us, everyone. Can you make a sentence with 我们都? *Women dou*. {No response from the pupils}. I show you: 我们都高兴。都在这儿。 *Women dou gaoxing. Dou zai zher* <We are all happy. We are all here>. It’s simple. What do they mean? {No response from the pupils}.

As did some of her colleagues, Alice tried in the main to expose her pupils to as much Mandarin as possible, only using English for rules or topics that she considered challenging. However, issues emerged in this incident because Alice translanguaged to explain Chinese grammar whilst giving examples in Chinese. When she provided different translations of 都 *dōu* i.e., “we”, “us”, “everyone”, “all” and “both”, her pupils seemed confused. The research field notes also record Alice’s surprised reaction when her pupils could not understand the use of 都 *dōu*. In fact, the majority of them had a good level of Mandarin and, as she pointed out, the adverb is widely used in Chinese. One of the pupils, Susan broke the silence and asked:

Susan: I don’t get it. Why “everyone”?

Alice: Because it’s a group. Every one of us. Us both. {Pupils look at each other}

Billie: Ah, so you mean “all”, we “all”, 我们都今天来学校。 *Women dou jintian lai xuexiao* <Today we all came to school>.

After Alice's second explanation, Billie immediately formed a sentence and, as he rephrased her English translation, he irritated Alice who replied:

Is this not what I explained? We all, that is every one of us,
or both of us two 是吗? *Shi ma* <isn't it>

Susan: Not really; "all" and "everyone" in English have a
different meaning.

This episode echoes another incident that I presented in 6.2.2 where the teacher's mispronunciation of the word "rooster" during a geography lesson generated hilarity in the classroom. There the teacher's choice to explain in English impacted on her interaction with the pupils who took the opportunity challenge her authority. Here, a similar dynamic is evident between Billie, Susan, and Alice.

Overall, both teacher and pupils implicitly acknowledged how a fluid use of languages was not only acceptable in the classroom, but even necessary if they were to be engaged in the conversation. García and Li (2014) argue that translanguaging also represents a dynamic meaning-making process through which speakers can go beyond established boundaries of languages and identities. As multilingual learners display their ability to move across languages, they also reframe relationships with others such as peers and teacher, and this process impacts on their own identity constructions.

The analysis of findings presented in this section shows that, as pupils and teachers moved across languages, they reframed their relationships with peers and teachers (Norton, 2013). For example, as pupils demonstrated the ability to use their language resources promptly in response to the context, and showed awareness of the language issues faced by their teacher, they exercised agency. In fact, through their performative competence and ability to play with languages, they were able to contest the (linguistic) authority of the teacher as an English speaker and to challenge the existing power relations. As discussed in chapter 5 (5.1.2 and 5.2.1), in the classrooms, teachers had the power to make pedagogic decisions informed by their ideological orientation towards Chinese language. For example, a standardised version of Mandarin taught by native speakers was promoted in the schools and supported by parents. As a result, pupils' language repertoires were often questioned by teachers and

considered a barrier to learning proper Mandarin. In contrast, the findings discussed in this section have demonstrated how translanguaging could offer a resource for pupils to rebalance issues of power and to reassert their own positionality. In effect, while they could not challenge their teachers' use of Mandarin, they could contest their use of English.

Overall, two conclusions can be drawn from this section concerning respectively the importance of translanguaging in the classrooms as a resource for identity performance and as a pedagogic strategy. First, the analysis demonstrated that as pupils drew on Mandarin and English in order to communicate, they reconfigured norms, expanded their repertoires, co-constructed terms of engagement with peers and the teacher, and also renegotiated their identities. Indeed, according to Canagarajah (2013), "languages don't determine or limit our identities, but provide new and creative resources to construct new and revised identities through reconstructed forms and meanings of new indexicalities" (p. 199). Second, as the pupils and their teacher simultaneously drew on different language resources to accomplish teaching and learning, consistent with the work of Creese and Blackledge (2010) and Canagarajah (2013), the importance of translanguaging as a pedagogic strategy became obvious.

Having explored how pupils constructed their identities through their strategic use of not just one language but a number of languages, the next section centres on the theme of culture previously discussed in chapter 6.

7.1.2 Constructing Chinese culture and pupils' identities

The second theme guiding this chapter explores how pupils' constructions of Chinese culture impacted on their self-presented identities. I draw on Holliday's grammar of culture (2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2016) to analyse pupils' statements of and about culture, that is, how they projected images of Chinese culture. By revisiting a number of pupils' narratives presented in chapter 6.3, I investigate what lies behind pupils' culture-related statements, and how pupils chose to present a certain image of who they are through them.

The analysis identified distinctive understandings for British-born pupils and those who had emigrated from China. As was also the case in 6.3, these distinctions are presented under the two subthemes below.

“Our ancestors were great”: Family history and sense of identity

As previously noted in chapter 6’s findings analysis, pupils valued the provision of cultural activities such as the celebration of festivals and group-work on history-related themes not only as an alternative to the classroom teaching, but also as a way to reconnect with their family history. I, therefore, revisit some of those findings to investigate how being involved in these cultural activities encouraged pupils to reflect on and, thus, [re]construct their sense of identity. I refer again to two incidents presented in 6.3.1 that illustrate the impact of these experiential activities on pupils’ sense of identity. The incidents centred respectively on a group activity on the 兵马俑 *bīng mǎ yǒng* Terracotta Army, and on a play on the life of Ming dynasty physician Li Shizhen.

These two examples show that pupils valued the opportunity to gain more knowledge about their ancestors and heritage. For example, as part of the Terracotta Army activity pupils exchanged anecdotes about their families and some of them were intrigued about the possibility of belonging to a noble family.

Kitty argued that gaining such knowledge and awareness of their family trajectories was of even more importance, because, in her experience, Chinese history is largely neglected in the British education curriculum. She pointed out that “everything [history lessons] is about Romans and Victorians and never about Chinese” (from field notes, Apple Valley School, January 2015).

As pupils discovered their personal histories and traced them back to ancestry, they also co-constructed a sense of pride in their perceived common cultural heritage and, as a result, in themselves. This sense of pride is captured by Yvonne’s comment on Kitty’s description of the play about Li Shizhen (see 6.3.1):

Yvonne commented that “our ancestors were great and intelligent, no less than the Victorians or anyone else. Just

because British people don't know about the Chinese, it doesn't mean that they are not great"

(from field notes, Apple Valley School, January 2015).

During the Deer River School focus group, Bruce echoed her perspective:

At least here [at the Chinese school] they tell us more about our culture. All the inventions. We cannot learn anything in our normal school.

These excerpts show how cultural activities at the school were very important for the pupils who seemed to feel that their (perceived) Chinese culture was underrepresented in the UK's mainstream education system. Thus, learning about and engaging with their Chinese cultural heritage through CCS gave them the opportunity to identify with a culture and ancestors "that are no less than the Victorians or anyone else".

Bruce's classmate Julian was also concerned about the importance of learning about Chinese culture at school:

It [Chinese school] made me realise that all Chinese people are different. There are different cultures all over China and now I know better about them. It [the school] has made me appreciate Chinese culture better and who I am.

These pupils' accounts all represent statements about culture, which Holliday (2010b) understands as artefacts of how people see themselves, rather than objective descriptions of culture. According to Holliday (2010b), the statements that we make of and about culture also represent "cultural acts, outward, ideological expressions of Self in relation to Other" (p. 268). The chosen excerpts show how cultural artefacts are also collected around individuals through dialogue. However, in analysing pupils' statements as artefacts, they should not be taken at face value. Instead, what is important is why pupils collected particular cultural realities around themselves, and how they used them to pursue a sense of identification with a common Chinese history and ancestry. The findings show that pupils began to think about culture as informing their own lives, and thus realising they too were linked to these cultural artefacts. By constructing positive statements about Chinese culture or

cultural artefacts, these pupils co-constructed with their peers a positive sense of Chinese in-group membership (“our ancestors were great and intelligent”) as they chose to associate with and take pride in a sense of Chinese identity.

Far away from China, but still Chinese

The provision of cultural activities at the schools discussed in 6.3.2 also played an important role in the lives of pupils who had recently come to the UK. Their accounts reveal how being part of these activities helped them to maintain a connection with their life in China and their Chinese identity. For example, Meili used her cartoon storyboard to represent a number of key learning moments about Chinese culture at the school, that is, Chinese New Year celebrations, a visit to a local museum, and playing Chinese chess:

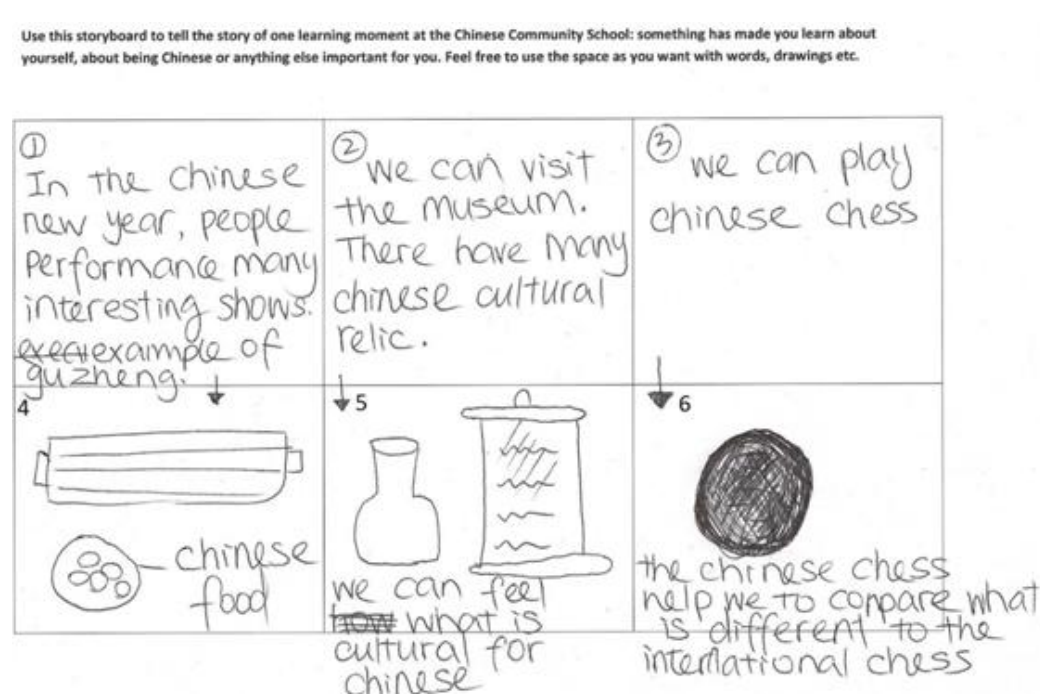


Figure 7.2 Cartoon storyboard created by Meili.

The cartoon storyboards and accounts of Meili and Yang (presented in 6.3.2) emphasised the school’s importance in bringing together adults and children during celebrations like Chinese New Year and other activities. As Yang put it, through these activities “we can still feel that we are part of China”. Meili made a slightly different point when she shared her concern about “forgetting about Chinese culture” now that she lived in the UK.

As Holliday (2010b) argues, a cultural struggle can take place in spaces which become sites for intercultural encounters, for example, when Chinese children live in an area of the UK with few Chinese migrants. During the focus group discussion Chinese-born pupils all shared a number of issues they faced in the UK, and in particular in their mainstream schools, such as relationships with teachers and schoolmates, and language problems. Jinlin encapsulated these issues thus:

没关系，英文学校，太多了，很多压力，考试很难。*Mei guanxi, yinwen xuejiao, tai duo le, yen duo yali, keshi hen nan.*
<Never mind, in the English school it's too much, a lot of pressure, the lessons are very difficult>.

In contrast, all the pupils valued the way in which CCS made them feel connected with their life in China. As they deconstructed Chinese culture through particular artefacts and constructed statements about Chinese culture, emphasising, for instance, how Chinese people eat, what musical instruments they play etc., they also created building blocks that formed a small culture (Holliday, 1999).

In line with Holliday's (1999) theorisation of small culture, the analysis of findings in 6.3.2 showed how pupils used their own statements or projected images of Chinese culture to construct their own Chinese small culture(s) in the context of the school. Moreover, as they constructed this/these culture(s), they shared a sense of affiliation with other Chinese people, as illustrated in the comment: "at the end we can sing Chinese music and we can feel that we are part of China".

Overall, the analysis of this second theme has demonstrated the importance that cultural activities such as celebrations and art workshops had in pupils' lives, as they provided them with a sense of in-group membership which informed and strengthened their identities as Chinese. The next theme now centers on the value that pupils attributed to the relationships they formed at school.

7.1.3 Building relationships

This section investigates how the relationships that pupils forged in the community schools not just with their peers but also with others were important in helping them to gain a sense of social membership and also to develop intercultural learning.

First, I explore how pupils, as they engaged in processes of small culture formation (Holliday, 1999), constructed a sense of in-group membership with friends who shared similar life trajectories. Second, I discuss how the intercultural encounters that pupils had in the schools were also significant in helping them to make sense of their identity.

Meeting friends sharing similar life trajectories

The friendships that pupils forged at their schools were important for pupils both in terms of encouraging their attendance and in distinguishing the “Chinese” aspects of their identity.

Chinese-born pupils in FG1 believed that they benefitted from having friends who shared similar life histories that included a common experience of migration, the languages they spoke and used (e.g., Mandarin HL and English) and, their experiences of mainstream schooling in England. For example, Dewei explained that the Chinese friends he made at the community school were important for him both in overcoming a sense of isolation and for improving his English:

It's good coming here and making new Chinese friends because in the English school I am bored and lonely. [As we are] Chinese people we can talk [to] each other and know how to learn English.

British-born pupils also valued the friendships they could make in the schools. Representations of cheerful moments with children playing and talking together are a recurrent feature in the cartoon storyboards. Danny portrayed how playing with friends (box 1) and chatting with them at break time (box 5) were his favourite moments at school:

Use this storyboard to tell the story of one learning moment at the Chinese Community School: something has made you learn about yourself, about being Chinese or anything else important for you. Feel free to use the space as you want with words, drawings etc.

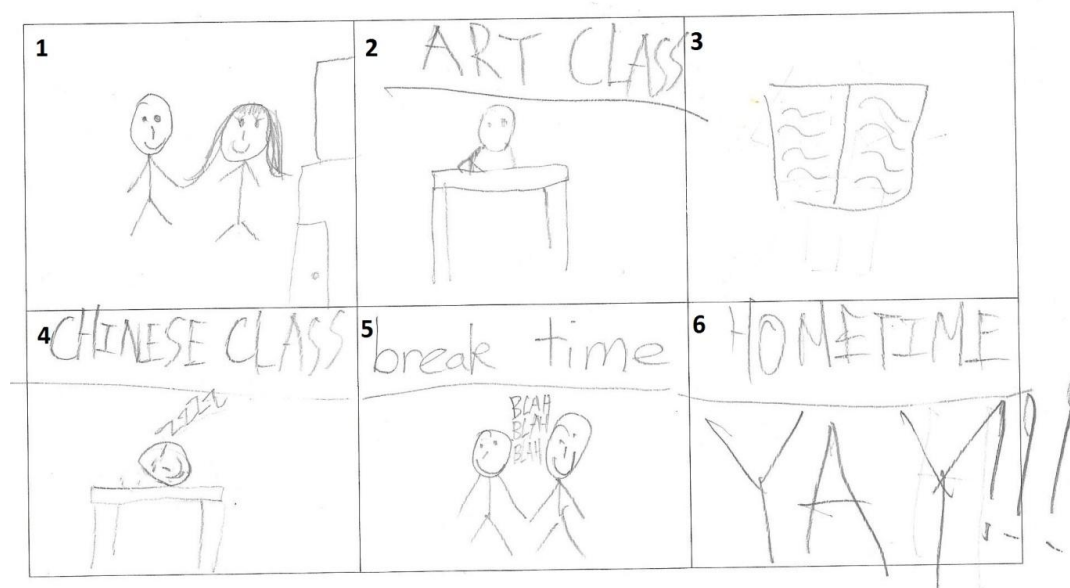


Figure 7.3 Cartoon storyboard created by Danny.

A number of other pupils represented the importance of friendship at the Chinese school. In her cartoon storyboard, Kitty gave a further example of how “making new friends” (box 2) constituted an important learning moment:

Use this storyboard to tell the story of one learning moment at the Chinese Community School: something has made you learn about yourself, about being Chinese or anything else important for you. Feel free to use the space as you want with words, drawings etc.

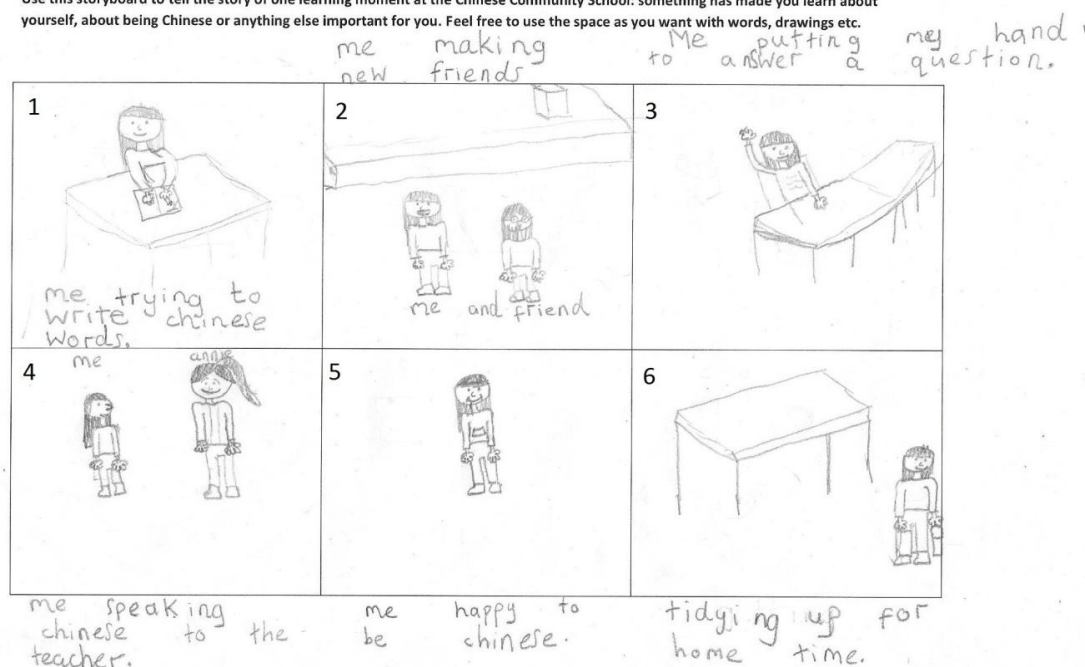


Figure 7.4 Cartoon storyboard created by Kitty.

During the focus group, she pointed to how “playtime is important for kids to meet with friends, other Chinese children who speak English”. Yvonne extended her explanation: “we know Chinese people who speak Cantonese in our family but here Chinese kids speak English well. So we can just speak English”.

Similar comments were made by Lily at Deer River School:

I don't really mind [going to China] because I have relatives here that can speak Chinese so I don't really have to go to China. But here [at the Chinese school] we can meet other Chinese kids who speak English.

As did a number of other pupils, Kitty, Yvonne, and Lily lived in an area with few Chinese or other migrant communities and so attending a community school represented one of the few opportunities they had to meet with other local English-speaking Chinese children.

The importance of friendship-building resonates with the findings of Francis et al. (2008) who argue that, in the context of Cantonese community schooling, making ethnically Chinese friends is important for pupils both to motivate their attendance and to enable them to identify with the wider Chinese community. However, this study expands upon Francis et al.'s (2008) point. For many of the pupils who participated in this study the value of friendship-making at the Chinese school lay not so much in a shared ethnicity, but rather in the opportunity it afforded them to identify with a group of children with whom they shared an alternative intersectionality of identity markers (i.e., their Chinese ethnicity linked to heritage, shared experience of life in England or of migration, and languages) that they considered as important aspects of their identity.

As pupils built a sense of affiliation with other children whom they perceived as similar to themselves, and made sense of the friendships they built at school, the pupils formed their own small culture (Holliday, 2011b). What CCS offered them was a sense of in-group membership that they could not experience elsewhere, and the opportunity to come together with other children who shared that same small culture.

Other pupils extended the idea that making friends and identifying with them as part of the same small culture was important. For example, Lucas was happy to meet and play with Chinese friends:

Lucas: I like having Chinese friends.

Sara: Do you like having Chinese friends?

Lucas: Yes, because that's better.

Sara: Why?

Lucas: My English friends don't know how to play, do you know the string game? They don't know how to play it. Chinese people do. Do you play?

Sara: I don't play it but I know what it is. A way of making figures with a string.

Lucas: Still, I am impressed.

Interestingly, Lucas used the string game as a statement about Chinese culture despite the fact that the game is widely played in other countries including the UK. However, his point is important because Lucas used it as part of a process of small culture formation where the ideas of cohesion and affiliation between Chinese children who can play the same games was central. In fact, Lucas chose the string game as a common practice within what he perceived as his own Chinese social in-group. In excluding out-group members, i.e., English children who cannot play the game, he also constructed his identity as Chinese, because he distanced himself from them.

At the same time, Lucas negotiated his relationship with me, the researcher, as he was not only interested in presenting his own identity, but he was also interested in developing more understanding of me. In her study on migrant children in Italy and identity, Amadasi (2014) argues that the observation of participant-researcher interactions, in particular in studies concerning children, offers further insights on how the identity of participants and researchers alike is constructed in research contexts. While conceiving of identity as relational elucidates the ways in which participants interact with one another, it provides understanding not only of how they construct their identities, but also suggests that these identities are also negotiated with the researcher and his/her own positioning.

The importance of friendship: Chinese schools as intercultural spaces

Thus far the findings discussion has emphasised the importance all the pupils place on making Chinese friends through CCS and how the multilingual competencies of these friends were important, mentioning, for example, their fluency in English and command of English and Mandarin. However, those pupils who had recently migrated to the UK also valued the ways in which CCS could facilitate intercultural encounters between people from different backgrounds.

My analysis indicates that these pupils valued the chance to engage with “Western people” with a positive attitude towards Chinese language and culture. The idea of the schools as spaces that could facilitate intercultural encounters emerges, for example, from Honghui’s account:

In the Chinese school (we) can learn English and also we can make friends, 相交 *xiangjiao* with Western people who like the Chinese language.

Through their involvement in the school, pupils like Honghui began to appreciate engaging with other people from the wider host community because local people attended open events like workshops on calligraphy and dance organised by the schools. As pupils reflected on themselves, they also moved towards a sense of interest and positive engagement with local people, acknowledging that, despite their negative experiences of mainstream schooling, there are “Western people who like the Chinese language”.

Overall, the importance of friendship in the context of CCS resonates with the findings discussed by Francis et al. (2009) in their study on Cantonese community schooling. They define the schools as “ethnic enclaves and a ‘sanctuary’ from minorisation” (p. 532) where important friendships are facilitated and their value is related to the existence of a common Chinese background. Although the findings discussed so far in this section confirm the importance of friendship-making, they also contradict the vision of schools as “ethnic enclaves” because, arguably, the idea of an “enclave” suggests both a degree of inner homogeneity and isolation from a distinct outer environment. In contrast, the findings of this study demonstrate the diverse nature of the school

population (i.e., Mandarin-speaking immigrants from China, British-born pupils who spoke English and other 方言 *fāngyán* at home, and local people). Furthermore, this section suggested the idea that the schools are not spaces where people seek to isolate themselves, but rather spaces that encourage intercultural encounters between Chinese migrants and the host community.

The final theme investigates how pupils' overall involvement in the schools impacted on what they presented as their identities.

7.1.4 Feeling different, feeling special: "I am happy to be Chinese"

The idea that the overall experience of attending a community school is important for pupils' understanding of identity is also a recurrent theme in the data set.

In this excerpt, Roy explained how the school had impacted on his sense of identity:

It feels good being in an environment [the Chinese school] where you are not so different from everybody else. Where you are not THE Chinese kid.

Roy compared how he felt about himself in his mainstream and in the Chinese school. On the one hand, he linked feelings of discomfort to his experience of mainstream schooling, where he felt "so different from everybody else". On the other hand, the sense of inclusion provided by people at the Chinese school had a positive impact on how he saw himself.

Roy's feelings were echoed by those of Kitty and Yvonne. In her cartoon storyboard Yvonne represented how the school made her happy to be Chinese (box 5):

Use this storyboard to tell the story of one learning moment at the Chinese Community School: something has made you learn about yourself, about being Chinese or anything else important for you. Feel free to use the space as you want with words, drawings etc.

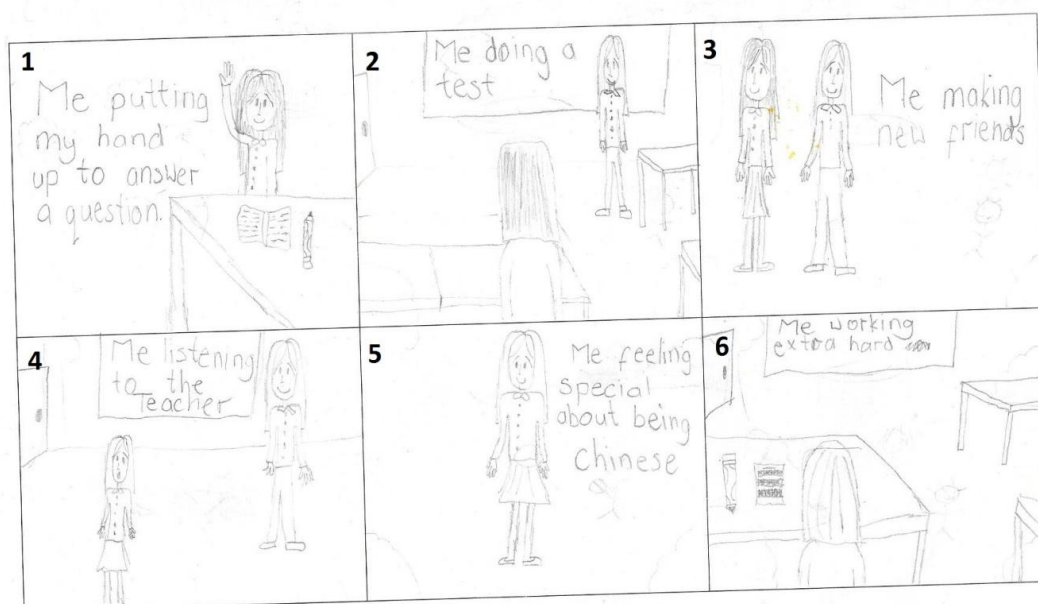


Figure 7.5 Cartoon storyboard created by Yvonne.

In the focus group, I discussed with Kitty and Yvonne how the Chinese school changed the ways in which they made sense of their identities:

Sara: Since you have started the [Chinese] school do you think that you changed the way you look about yourself?

Kitty: I feel proud if it's Chinese New Year and I am the only one in my class that can speak Chinese and all the English people get jealous because they don't speak Chinese.

Sara: What about you?

Yvonne: I just tell them about things but they don't seem to be jealous; they just ask me a lot of questions in the English school. Even the teacher goes "wow" because she doesn't know much about China. So I feel that because China is special and interesting I can be proud too.

In their accounts, Kitty and Yvonne shared how studying at a community language school impacted on the relationships they constructed in their mainstream school and, as a consequence, on their perception of self. Kitty explained how the celebration of Chinese New Year gave her the opportunity to demonstrate her Chinese language skills. Yvonne was also conscious of the interest and admiration that her knowledge of Chinese language and, more generally, "about China" generated in her school.

A final conclusion can be drawn from the accounts presented in this section. The shift in pupils' perception of their identity was led not only by skills and awareness that they developed through Chinese community schooling. In addition, the intercultural encounters they had in their mainstream schools via interactions with other children whom they perceived as from a different background played a key role, because they provided pupils with a site for self-awareness that resulted into a sense of pride in who they are.

7.1.5 Summary

In summary, the first part of the chapter has analysed how pupils' constructions of language, culture, and the value they attributed to their involvement in CCS informed their identity constructions. The analysis of findings indicates that pupils valued the ability to develop self-awareness and identification in a Chinese social in-group. At the same time, they overcame the isolation that some of them experienced in their mainstream school through a sense of affiliation with other pupils sharing similar life experiences.

Overall, the findings suggest that the small cultures that pupils constructed around themselves, not only in their community schools, but also in their mainstream school and wider community, and the intercultural encounters they had, contributed to their self-understanding and intercultural learning.

Next, I investigate how adults confirmed and contested pupils' presentations of their identities.

7.2 Adults confirming and contesting the pupils' identities

The purpose of this chapter is to focus on pupils and how they presented their own identities, and particularly their Chinese identities, in the context of this study. However, identities are also avowed and ascribed by others (Collier, 2005) and as such they can be imposed, assumed, and negotiated (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Group membership and social identity are not determined solely through the wishes and choices of individuals; they are also influenced by the acceptance of other group members (Byram, 2000). Thus, the accounts of the teachers and parents who participated in this study are also investigated alongside the accounts of pupils.

Three main themes emerged from this analysis. The first theme investigates how CCS provided a context for adults to negotiate pupils' membership within the Chinese social group (7.2.1). The second theme shows how adults used discourses of authenticity to contest pupils' identities as Chinese (7.2.2). Finally, section 7.3 discusses how a changing society in China, experiences of migration, and the intergenerational gap between adults and children challenge ideas of stability in pupils' Chinese identity pointing to fluidity and complexity (7.2.3) in their construction of self.

7.2.1 Community schooling and group identity

A number of adults revealed their hope that CCS could support children to construct a group identity as Chinese. Indeed, the overall analysis of parents' perspectives in chapters 5 and 6 showed a strong parental desire for children to learn in an environment conducive to an appreciation of Chinese culture, language, and identity.

The following excerpt explains that Albert enrolled his children in the school so that they could come to understand their own identity and thus "who they really are":

I decided to send them here because when they came back from English school they did ask me: "Why do I look different to any other kids". So for that reason you know, is that I want to let them know who they really are. Just want to show them more of our culture.

Albert's account echoes Roy's sense of isolation (see 7.1.4), and of being "so different" within the mainstream schooling system. Selina, whose child was of mixed heritage, was also hoping that the Chinese school would help her daughter to make sense of her own identity:

When she goes to China she looks [like a] foreigner to the other girls, but here people think she is Chinese. It's confusing. Hopefully through the school she can understand a bit more about herself. She can be with kids like her.

The idea that the exposure to a learning environment where Chinese language and culture are promoted could benefit children emerged consistently in the

parents' interviews. Shuoqian, for example, stressed how meeting successful Chinese people ("who do well") at the school can provide pupils with a positive source of in-group identification. She explained:

The school is important for them [pupils] to feel Chinese because all the Chinese come together. And they realise that there are other Chinese people in this country and they do well. They have a good life so there is a good effect in coming in this school. Since they started to come to the school, they changed the way they look at themselves. It's different to the English school; they see other Chinese people. It's still school. It is not different because they learn. But in this school they get closer friends if parents have connection because we Chinese are easy to get closer.

The comments of Albert, Selina, and Shuoqian showed how parents were conscious of the issues their children faced in the mainstream schooling system. Furthermore, Selina's concern for her daughter's feelings of confusion around her sense of identity was mitigated through attending the Chinese school. Finding this level of awareness contrasts with some of the literature on CCS in the UK, specifically Francis et al. (2010), where Chinese parents are often depicted as lacking engagement with their children's concerns and desires.

Although the pupils were not necessarily enthusiastic about their school, both their accounts and those of their parents demonstrate a consistent and shared desire to make sense of their identities. The importance of the schools was not necessarily confined to helping the children to feel Chinese but also, as explained, for example, by Lily in 7.1.3, in enabling them to "meet other Chinese kids who speak English" or, in other words, to meet with other pupils whom they saw as very much like themselves.

Teachers were equally convinced that community schooling was beneficial in the pupils' development of self-understanding. For example, Nala and Rose both made clear the importance of the school as a community space where children could meet and learn with other Chinese people. For Nala:

[Chinese school] is a platform for them to find their friends and through this kind of interaction between family and

friends then you get more chance to do Chinese things. If you only stay at home, their [sic] views on Chinese culture would be a little bit restricted, limited inside their family, but when you start interacting with other Chinese background families, you're doing some similar things and then you enforce knowledge of the culture. I hope that it makes sense.

Nala emphasised the idea that identity is constructed in interaction with other people who share a similar background and (perceived) culture. Here again an understanding that identity is the result of a negotiation process and social membership emerges from the data, and, in so doing, resonates with the theoretical underpinnings of this study.

Drawing on the perspective of social constructionism, this study is anchored in the theory that identity is fluid, relational, multifaceted, and multiple (Chen & Collier, 2012) and constructed through individual narration and linked to a desire for affiliation (Nero, 2005). All these components emerged in the accounts of the adults, who emphasised how important it was to them that their children gained a sense of identification and affiliation as they interacted with others in the schools.

Nala's colleague Rose, whose children also attended Apple Valley, was also convinced that CCS could make a difference in pupils' lives:

We got a group of Chinese people, that's different from any other school and we learn Chinese. That's the difference and you learn a bit about the culture in here, so I think that that helps them to maintain the culture and to feel Chinese: "I have to go to Chinese school because I got Chinese background".

A conflation of culture and identity is evident in the accounts of Nala and Rose. As discussed in chapter 6, adults largely configured culture through particular products including not only literature and history, but also values and behaviour. As Holliday (2010a) argues, research participants can employ statements of and about culture to perform particular identities. These statements are also important for researchers, as through analysing them, they can make sense of the ways in which participants construct their identities

(Holliday, 2016). What emerges from the account of the two teachers is their belief that culture can be transmitted and once it is interiorised by pupils, it can shape their identities.

Overall, analysis of the findings demonstrated that the efforts parents and teachers made to encourage children into community schooling were not just, as often contended in the literature, the result of their wishes and desires, but also a response to the (perceived) needs of their children. Adults were clearly concerned about how Chinese children felt in the mainstream schooling system; community schools, therefore, emerged as safe, alternative learning spaces in which the children were able to develop self-understanding and identification with the Chinese community.

The accounts of the pupils and adults who participated in this study presented communalities. All the participants were concerned about being able to make sense of who they are by engaging with people whom they perceived as similar to themselves. As pupils like Kitty, Yvonne, and Bruce explained, gaining awareness of their family life stories, language, and history, and coconstructing a small culture with others was vital because it gave them a sense of social membership they could not achieve in the mainstream schooling system.

Arguably, the efforts of parents and teachers were successful. In fact, the first part of this chapter offers numerous accounts of how pupils attached positive feelings to their involvement in CCS. A sense of pride was captured, for example, by Yvonne who asserted that through the school she became aware that “because China is special and interesting I can be proud too”. However, another dimension is explored below.

7.2.2 Authenticity and identity: “They are not really Chinese”

This section discusses how a concern for cultural and linguistic authenticity impacted on the ways in which a number of adults— both school staff and parents—contested pupils’ identities as Chinese.

As I explore this theme, I draw once again on the analysis of findings offered in chapters 5 and 6 where the concept of authenticity was discussed in relation to themes of language and culture. Here, I align with Kramsch’s (2012)

understanding of authenticity as a concept related to a group membership and identifiable origin that confers authority to those who possess it. Furthermore, as Blommaert and Varis (2011) argue authenticity is constituted not only by configurations of certain emblematic features including language, but also through appearance, possessions, and behaviours. As individuals negotiate these features and others evaluate them, their membership of a group (i.e., ‘the Chinese’) can be attributed or denied.

Here, concerns for authenticity emerged, as a number of parents questioned the authenticity of pupils as members of the Chinese community and their status as Chinese.

For example, Albert thought his own children could not be considered authentically Chinese as “they do not speak, write, and read properly”. However, in the views of the adults, language was not the only issue. For example, teacher Alice was convinced that other factors prejudiced the authenticity of children as Chinese people. She explained:

If they [pupils] go to China, people will think that they are foreigners; foreigner is about their opinions. If they look at the faces, they think “oh we are the same” and they hope that you could have the same values and the same opinions but if you are chatting or working together they realise that they are different.

At the time of the study, Alice was a graduate student and the adult-participant who had lived in the UK for the shortest length of time. Seeing herself as a temporary sojourner rather than a migrant, Alice distanced herself a number of times from other Chinese people in her school who had settled in the UK, as she felt that some of them “like to think they are European and they are not”.

Alice’s statement resonates with the work of Collier (2005), who argues that identities are not only negotiated, but also ascribed and avowed. In fact, Alice stressed that pupils were different (“foreigners”) in the eyes of people in China to whom she attributed the power to contest pupils’ identities as Chinese on the basis of different “values” and “opinions”. Although the existence of universal Chinese values and opinions is contestable, as it implies a degree of essentialisation, this excerpt shows how identity can be attributed or contested

through both people's statements of and about culture, and in the context of their own small culture formation processes.

A concern for pupils' authenticity in identity was also expressed by Philip whose children were born in England. Several times during our conversations he expressed his regret that he could not keep Mandarin language and Chinese 'culture' alive in family. In the concluding part of his interview, he remarked about his children and British-born Chinese children more generally:

They [children] are not really Chinese. That's why we call them British-Chinese and not Chinese-British. The school can help her [daughter] to connect more with real Chinese language and culture.

Philip countered the idea of a British-Chinese identity explaining how community schooling could offer a connection with 'real' language and culture (see adults' constructions of Chinese culture in chapter 6). Philip's narrative touches on the idea of a struggle to maintain a sense of Chinese identity in the context of migration. As argued by Holliday (2010b), a cultural struggle can take place in spaces which become sites for intercultural encounters, i.e., in a context where migrants are or perceive themselves as a minority.

In line with discourses around 'Cultural China' shown in Archer et al. (2010), the adults problematised the distance from a Chinese 'cultural core' and how it potentially impacted on their efforts to preserve Chinese culture and transmit it to their children. For example, the head teacher of Deer River School lamented that:

It is hard to maintain language and culture by ourselves. It's a fight. Because we don't live in China, we and our children don't learn these things in our daily lives. We, parents and teachers, are all in the same boat.

In the opinion of the head teacher, a struggle over language and cultural maintenance was perceived as a shared problem in a migrant context. The idea of a cultural struggle was echoed by the head teacher of Apple Valley School, who explained how community schooling could offer a valuable experience to children:

You never escape politics when you make sense of culture. It's not just about children learning real Chinese culture and language. It's about providing the nearest thing that you can get to going to China.

The head teacher described how of the cultural agenda of the schools extended beyond the transmission of culture and language, and was also aimed at providing a sort of 'surrogate' China. Further on in the interview, I asked the head teacher of Apple Valley School why providing a "real Chinese experience" was important. The participant's answer was centred on identity issues concerning not just children, but also their parents:

I guess that most of the parents were brought up in China and they are immigrants. They still identify themselves as being not just culturally but also politically Chinese. All these things need[s] to be maintained or you will realise that you have lost your roots and maybe you are not able to communicate with children. If you want to maintain it, culture, by yourself it's difficult because you have these social aspect of learning by communicating with other people. So places like Chinese schools as spaces for people to come together and learn from each other.

The idea of a cultural struggle emerged from the narratives of both the head teachers ("it's a fight", "it's difficult"). In contrast, community schools emerged as Chinese cultural spaces—or arenas following Holliday (2010b)—that could represent a force able to counter such a loss of identity by offering a real Chinese cultural experience co-constructed by people who can "learn from each other".

Overall two key concerns emerged from the adults' accounts. First, consistent with the work of Archer et al. (2010), participants shared the perception of a cultural struggle faced by Chinese migrants in the UK, problematising the distance from a Chinese cultural core. Second, adult participants had a shared belief that authentic Chinese language and culture can be preserved and transmitted through community schooling's offering a remedial space for pupils to construct an identity as Chinese.

Drawing on the discussion in chapters 5 and 6, the last theme draws on clashes and inconsistencies in adults' accounts of Chinese language, culture, and

identity, and exposes how, in the context of this study, ideas of fluidity and complexity in Chinese identity emerged.

7.2.3 “China is changing too”: Fluidity and complexity in Chinese identity

Although participants showed a concern for authenticity of language and culture and pupils’ Chinese identities, a number of them also acknowledged that China is changing too and with it Chinese people around the world.

My analysis of four adults’ accounts captures this sense of change and fluidity and how it impacted on the ways in which they attributed and contested pupils’ identities. Before turning to the conclusions of the chapter, I also link participants’ constructions of language and culture discussed in chapters 5 and 6 to show how these contributed to the discussion of this theme.

The head teacher of Deer River School argued that Chinese society has changed so much that a generational gap now impacts on adults’ and children’s understandings of culture:

There is a generational gap in how adults and children see culture; the young generations subscribe to different sets of value, not just here in Europe, [but] even in China; things have changed. The younger generations don’t live with their parents, they tend to move out and the children don’t necessarily listen to what their parents say. That’s how society has changed, is not necessarily westernised, but just different.

A number of parents and teachers described how the society in China has changed and how changes in lifestyle and values impact on the identities of Chinese children both in China and abroad.

Chloe, whose daughter was attending Deer River school, echoed the perspective of the head teacher by stressing how in China and in the ‘Chinese world’—Chloe came from Malaysia and had never visited China—the gap between generations plays an important part in informing children’s identities as Chinese. She explained that:

Of course, Chinese people will bring up their children differently even in China. Some of them are more traditional; some of them more Westernised. But even if they do some things the Western way, the children never

forget their roots for the important things: weddings, funerals, celebrations for birth. The culture will never be lost because, if they don't do these things, they get no sense of belonging.

Although Chloe also acknowledged the impact of the intergenerational gap and upbringing on children's sense of identity in China, she also pointed that "the important things", i.e., rites of passage, are still maintained and give a sense of belonging to people. Despite the differences and the increasing Westernisation, in Chloe's opinion the new generation's sense of Chinese identity cannot be denied.

Overall, the idea of a cultural gulf between generations which the head teacher and Chloe proposed challenges ideas of fixity in Chinese identity, acknowledging how identity is instead the result of negotiation processes between generations.

Albert also captured the idea of things changing in China and for Chinese people. Although he considered himself in his own words "still very traditional even after decades in Europe" (from research field notes), Albert acknowledged:

China is changing and moving forward very quickly; we all are changing with it. We won't forget who we are, our roots, what is important, values. Children need to know where we came from to face the future.

Albert stressed how a sense of continuity with the past and a commonality of life trajectories (i.e., family, ancestry) (Holliday, 2011b), are important if children are to understand who they are and to engage with changes in society. At the same time, however, Albert conceded that China and Chinese people are experiencing deep changes.

The last account that I analyse suggests how living in a migrant context offers Chinese children living in the UK more opportunities and additional challenges when compared to their peers in China. Teacher Nala also acknowledged the idea of change and negotiation in Chinese identity. Here I offer a significant excerpt from her interview:

I think that children all have similarities because at a certain age you are full of curiosity towards the outside

world but what is your outside world would shape up your ideas and your values about life.

Rather than focusing on a generational factor, Nala suggested how Chinese children in China and in a migrant context construct their sense of being Chinese differently because they are exposed to a different “outside world”. After acknowledging the role of the “outside world” in shaping people’s identities, Nala then explained that what makes the difference in the life of Chinese children in the UK are opportunities and challenge related to, in her words, “cultural conflict”:

So, in China, Chinese children are not in the kind of situation of Chinese children here. They don’t have to deal with these kinds of cultural conflict of different cultures everyday like children here. [...] But Chinese families here speak Chinese as family language but they have several issues in thinking in a Chinese way. When they go to school, when they interact in the society here, for them it’s like two things, one minute when they are at home they need to switch over to this kind of thinking.

Here Nala problematised a number of issues experienced by pupils and adults in a migrant context (i.e., maintaining a “Chinese way of thinking”, shifting between the reality children experience at school and at home). However, as she continued she also acknowledged how, through conflict, intercultural learning can emerge:

They have like two circles. Chinese culture one circle and English culture the other circle. Both circles expand bigger and bigger and they join together. Children in China don’t have this two circles joining together and children here in the local schools, they don’t have this joint culture thing.

So our children, I mean second generation children attending Chinese school, their perception of reality is joined together. Hopefully would give them an advantage. It’s kind of intercultural understanding ability.

Although it is arguable that Chinese people in China do not experience intercultural conflict, as China too is a diverse society (Cheng, 2007), what is important to signal here is how Nala was able to appreciate an increased

intercultural awareness as a result of the “cultural conflict” experienced by Chinese children in the UK.

Despite challenges and the effort required by children and their families to negotiate their identity as Chinese, and to make sense of the intercultural encounters they experience, Nala was convinced that they also benefit in terms of increased intercultural learning and self-awareness development.

Overall, the accounts discussed in this section challenge the vision of Chinese identity as static and universal. Such a vision is often fostered by the ‘Western’ literature on China and Chinese studies that depict China as a “monochrome forest” (Cheng, 2007). Similarly, a number of studies on CCS emphasise an element of fixity in participants’ accounts of identity, language, and culture (e.g., Archer et al., 2010; Mau et al., 2009).

In contrast, this section’s analysis, along with that in chapters 5 and 6, has demonstrated how participants in this study, both pupils and adults, were critical not only about their constructions of Chinese identity, but also language and culture. Such complexity and criticality is further discussed in the next chapter in relation to the theoretical implications of this study.

7.2.4 Summary

A number of conclusions can be drawn from the analysis of the adults’ accounts. On the one hand, adults used ideas of authenticity to contest the status of pupils as Chinese. Here they attributed a potentially remedial role to the community schools as a means of not only helping children to strengthen a sense of Chinese identity, but also of making sense of who they are. On the other hand, participants’ accounts captured a sense of change and fluidity in how Chinese people understand their own sense of identity around the world because of societal changes, migration, a growing intergenerational gap, and the intercultural encounters they are exposed to. This finding contrasts with ideas of fixity and ossification in participants’ accounts critiqued in the literature on Chinese community schooling (e.g., Archer et al. 2010; Francis et al., 2010). Finally, ideas of fluidity and complexity in Chinese identity, as articulated in the parents’ and teachers’ views above, also resonate with the analysis of the accounts of pupils offered in the first part of the chapter.

Summary and conclusions

This chapter concluded the analysis of findings by investigating first how pupils constructed their identities in the context of community schooling, and secondly how adults reinforced, substantiated, and also contested the pupils' constructions. In light of the theoretical framework of this study and the influence of social identity theory (SIT) (see 2.5), the accounts of adults were investigated because others can also attribute and contest identities.

As this chapter shows, Chinese identity emerged as a discursive construct that pupils and adults negotiated in terms of: their family, ancestry, experience of migration, personal histories, etc.; their statements about culture (i.e., projected images about Chinese culture); their construction of language (i.e., the ways in which people attributed authenticity); and, the intercultural encounters that they had in England within and outside their community schools.

Although language, culture, and relationships did emerge as important in relation to pupils' identity constructions, these identities were not constructed and negotiated exclusively around those factors or markers. The analysis centred rather on the multiplicity of identities that pupils constructed in the specific context of their weekly classes, as they interacted with one another, with their teachers, their parents, and with me, the researcher.

The process through which these pupils constructed a number of small cultures in their lives played an important role in shaping the complexity in their sense of identity and identification. As pupils began to make sense of the small cultures they encountered in their community and mainstream school, they gained not only self-awareness but also developed intercultural learning. Such learning was reflected upon in relation to their own Chinese heritage, regardless of the provenance of their family, and the languages they ascribed to their small culture identification. Pupils also learned from the others in their schools who did not share their same life trajectories, for example, English people who did not have a Chinese background but were interested in learning about Chinese language and culture.

Finally, by attending a Chinese community school, pupils were able to claim the right to construct their identity as Chinese regardless of the language(s) they

could or choose to speak, their life trajectories and family background, and their intercultural experiences within and outside the community schools. The schools played a positive role in their lives, supporting them in gaining a positive sense of social membership.

Overall, the complexity in the participants' accounts resonates with the work of Cheng (2007) who argues that "there is not one unique way of thinking in China and to recognize the fact that China did not stop thinking in Ancient times, or when Western modernity was introduced to her" (p. 11). Such an idea of complexity also resonates with the work of Jin and Dervin (in press) on the intercultural dimension of Chinese language education, as China is a rich and complex place and Chinese people are diverse. Consistent with findings discussed in chapters 5 and 6, complexity and diversity in Chinese identity have emerged through the chapter. Pupils implicitly challenged benchmarks of authenticity used by adults and recognised in their understandings of children's constructions and presentations of identity, and in so doing they offered a multiplicity of perspectives about Chinese language, culture, and identity. As pupils claimed their own individuality, they also claimed their position as members of the Chinese community.

Having addressed the fourth and last research question, I now turn to the conclusions of the study.

Chapter 8 Conclusions

Introduction

This study has focused on the Mandarin Chinese community schooling experiences of a group of pupils, parents, and teaching staff in two Chinese community schools in England.

In this concluding chapter, I first provide a summary of the main study showing how the research questions have been addressed (8.1). Then, I discuss the implications and contributions of this study (8.2). Thereafter, I address the limitations of the study (8.3), before suggesting directions for future research (8.4). My final remarks on this study conclude the chapter (8.5).

8.1 Summary of the main study

The overarching aim of this study was to investigate the role of Chinese community schools as intercultural educational spaces where Chinese language, culture, and identity are promoted through the agenda of the schools and, at the same time, constructed, negotiated, and contested by pupils and adults. Overall, there has been a dearth of research on Chinese community schooling in the UK over the last 10 years and this thesis goes some way towards addressing that lacuna. The studies that do exist have explored specific aspects of CCS such as its purpose and benefits (Francis et al., 2008, 2009, 2010), the identities of British-Chinese children as CHL speakers (Mau, 2013), language (Creese & Blackledge, 2010), and classroom practices (Li & Wu, 2008). In discussing the interrelationships between the concepts of language, culture, and identity in the context of CCS, this study adds to the body of knowledge on CCS. In order to shed light on the complex phenomenon on CCS, the concepts of language, culture, and identity were deconstructed and investigated in relation to the agenda of the schools', pupils', and adults' language repertoires, their life trajectories (i.e., experiences of migration), their family background (i.e., what

languages they speak at home), and their intercultural encounters with others in the schools from an interpretive perspective.

The study adopted a qualitative methodology. Theoretically, the study is premised on the epistemological position of interpretivism and the ontological perspective of social constructionism. The data collected for the study comprised 55 pages of research field notes, 18 individual interviews with adults, three focus group sessions with 23 children aged between 5 and 18 years of age, and 28 visual artefacts produced by pupils. In addition, I undertook ethnographic observations in the schools and particularly in Apple Valley School where I was involved in various capacities (observer, activity organiser, and facilitator) over 14 months. The analysis draws on this combined data set. The verbal and visual data were analysed following Braun and Clarke's (2006) principles of thematic analysis. The field notes taken during the school observations were used to complement the data from the interviews and were also included in the data analysis process.

In order to present the contributions of this study, I now show how the four research questions have been addressed throughout its four findings chapters.

RQ1: How do pupils, parents, and school staff understand the aim and focus of Mandarin Chinese community schooling?

Chapter 4 set the context of the study by exploring how pupils, parents, and school staff understood the role and focus of CCS. The findings revealed that language learning was universally acknowledged by all participants—both pupils and adults—as the primary focus of CCS. However, whilst pupils seemed more concerned about the practical and economic opportunities offered by Mandarin (i.e., future employment opportunities), their parents and teachers were also equally concerned about the value of Mandarin in terms of its being a Chinese heritage language (CHL) that could provide pupils with a source of identification. Pupils who had recently left China also indicated that CCS played an important role in helping them to improve their English.

Overall, the participants' focus on language resonates with the findings of previous studies in the UK (e.g., Francis et al., 2009, 2010). However, the

potential role of Mandarin-language community schools in supporting migrant Chinese children's learning of English represents the first original contribution of this study to the corpus of British literature on CCS.

The findings also showed that pupils and adults valued the role of CCS in creating social, economic, and cultural capital. In a previous study Francis et al. (2005a, 2005b, 2009) used the concept of capital to discuss how Chinese (Cantonese) language learning was presented by pupils and adults as being "useful or instrumental" in a variety of different ways" (p. 524). However, to guide my analysis, I drew more specifically on Bourdieu (1984, 1986, 1989) and his definition of capital as a resource that can generate social advantage. It is evident from the participants' accounts that constructions of different forms of capitals such as social capital (i.e., the provision of a community space for families), economic capital (i.e., enabling pupils to access future opportunities), and cultural capital (i.e., enabling pupils to internalise Chinese values) overlap. Particularly important was the provision of social capital within CCS as adults understood the schools as gathering spaces for the whole Chinese community. This finding echoes Francis et al.'s study (2009) in which they also contended that the schools offer a space for adults to make Chinese friends and for children to identify with the Chinese community. Furthermore, the value of community schools as community spaces supports the adoption of the term "community schooling" in this study, in preference to terms such as complementary schooling, as it acknowledges the importance of these schools in the political and social life of the communities that establish and run them (Li, 1993; Martin et al., 2004).

Finally, the findings show how school staff, and particularly head teachers, sought to replicate the mainstream system by adopting an exam- and target-driven curriculum which, potentially, impacted on their agenda and goals. Although this finding does not directly address the first research question, it is relevant because it represents a point of differentiation between the current study and previous literature on Chinese community schooling in the UK (i.e., Creese et al., 2006, DES 1985) that, by contrast, emphasises the independence

of community schools from the mainstream education system in terms of curriculum choices.

RQ2: How do pupils construct Chinese language(s) vis-à-vis the aims of the schools? How do teachers and parents contribute to understandings of Chinese language and language education and what ideologies lie behind such constructions?

Chapter 5 illustrated the perspectives of the study participants vis-à-vis the institutional focus of the schools, that is, on the importance of the teaching of Mandarin Chinese as the ‘official’ language (e.g., of China, Taiwan and Singapore) in a standardised form. Here two overarching themes emerged which centred respectively on the construction of Chinese as a heritage language (CHL) (He, 2008; Li & Wu, 2008) and on native speakerism in language education (e.g., Creese et al., 2014; Doerr, 2009; Kramsch, 2012).

The discussion in that chapter questioned the definition of (Mandarin) Chinese community schools as heritage language schools. Although Mandarin community schools generally target HL learners, and researchers also term these as Chinese heritage language schools (Li & Wu, 2008), the analysis of the findings demonstrated that the language backgrounds of pupils and their families are more complicated (see 5.1).

A tension emerged throughout the analysis of findings in that the two schools—as expressed in the schools’ policy documents and in interviews with some of the teachers—foregrounded the importance of transmitting a polished and standardised version of Mandarin as ‘the’ Chinese language at the expense of other varieties of Chinese such as Cantonese which were in use in the research sites. This focus on Mandarin was partially related to the agenda of the schools but also potentially ideologically charged. Although families in the schools did not necessarily have Mandarin as their CHL, a number of parents and teachers believed that acquiring fluency in Mandarin could confer on their children certain rights and privileges such as the ‘right’ to be considered ‘authentic Chinese’ and could offer a passport to gaining economic advantage by being speakers of both Mandarin and English in a world where both languages matter so much. However, there seemed to be an unacknowledged disjoint between the

rather rigid view of the schools in promoting Mandarin as taught by ‘native speakers’—and at the same time, their tendency to almost deny the existence and value of other 方言 *fāngyán*—and the willingness of teachers and parents to concede to (and even actively encourage) this privileging of one language over another.

Overall, the hierarchies of Chinese languages and speakers constructed within and reinforced by the schools, and where a standardised Mandarin enjoyed a privileged status, also influenced adults’ perceptions of Mandarin as the preferred language their children should learn. In contrast, from the pupils’ perspective, the ideological construction of Mandarin as ‘the’ Chinese language had little relevance as they did not necessarily comprehend these differences. In their eyes, other 方言 *fāngyán*, and particularly Cantonese, had the status of their CHL and contributed to their own sense of Chinese identity. By challenging the assumption of a homogeneous group of learners in the schools (e.g., Mandarin heritage learners) this study has contributed towards the theorisation of the relationship between (Chinese) language(s) and identity. The idea that Chinese language proficiency and community language education impacts on pupils’ constructions of identities is debated in the literature (Archer et al., 2010; Zhang, 2005; Francis et al., 2008, 2009) and echoed in this study (see discussions in 5.1.1). However, previous research has failed to explore the value that Mandarin (or Cantonese) can have for pupils for whom it does not represent a HL. Furthermore, the status of pupils as CHL learners of the language they learn at their community school (Cantonese or Mandarin) has often been assumed (see Li & Wu, 2008; Francis et al., 2009; Mau et al., 2008) rather than investigated.

RQ3: How do pupils construct Chinese culture vis-à-vis the aims of the schools? How do teachers and parents contribute to the pupils’ constructions, and what ideologies lie behind such constructions?

Chapter 6 investigated how pupils, parents and school staff constructed Chinese culture vis-à-vis the agenda of the schools which centred on the transmission of Chinese culture through formal teaching in the classrooms—where the

curriculum was textbook-centred—and informal teaching through a range of activities (e.g., celebration of festivals).

The findings revealed that pupils and teachers had different expectations and motivations when it came to learning and teaching. Moved by the desire to foster pupils' sense of belonging within the Chinese community and to improve them as people, a number of teachers were concerned about instilling a sense of Chinese morality in their pupils. For the same reasons, parents equally supported the cultural agenda of the schools. In contrast, pupils valued the experiential learning of culture through activities such as plays and celebrations that allowed them to [re]connect with their family and personal histories more than the face-to-face teaching in the classrooms, which pupils considered often too removed from their daily lives. Thus, in contrast to previous research (e.g., Francis & Archer 2005b; Archer, 2010) that contends that adults value the cultural agenda of CCS more than pupils do, this study argues that pupils and adults differ primarily in terms of the value they place on the ways in which culture is transmitted. As they challenged the textbook-centred approach to the learning of culture and, more widely, the configuration of culture through symbolic meanings that they could not access (e.g., the meaning of particular fables) (see discussion in 6.2.2), pupils demonstrated strong opinions about what made the teaching of culture relevant or irrelevant to them and what they wished to learn at school, that was, something they could connect with in their daily lives.

Furthermore, chapter 6 demonstrated the complexity in the participants' understandings of Chinese culture in contrast to ideas of fixity and ossification critiqued in the literature (e.g., Archer et al. 2010; Francis et al., 2010) that emphasises, for example, how parents and teachers constructed a fairly homogenised notion of culture through values, festivals, and cultural practices. In this study, fixed constructions of culture (e.g., how culture can be signified through symbols and behaviours) were apparently resisted. However, as pupils and adults discussed, attributed, and contested the significance to Chinese culture, they became engaged in dynamic processes that resisted ideas of fixity and homogeneity. In this study, the nature of participants' constructions of

Chinese culture have been analysed through the lens of the 'small culture' approach suggested by Holliday (1999) and his grammar of culture (2013, 2016). This theoretical and methodological framework helps in understanding how individuals represent discourses of and about culture rather than seeking to pin down definitions of culture as other studies have done (i.e., Archer et al., Mau, 2013). The analysis of data demonstrated how participants used their statements about culture both to make sense of the cultural agenda of the schools and, at the same time, to construct a sense of affiliation with their perceived Chinese group. As pupils and adults constructed and projected their own images of Chinese culture, they often sought validation from the past (e.g., parents referring to the Confucian tradition). At the same time, however, they brought in their own life experiences (e.g., migrant pupils constructing Chinese culture through products such as festivals that they connected with their life in China). As these trajectories and experiences were diverse and participants' accounts sometimes clashed (i.e., traditional Chinese culture was seen as either related to Taiwan, to the PRC, or to the idea of a pan-Chinese culture), a much more dynamic scenario emerged.

The third conclusion concerns the representation of Chinese pupils in the context of British community schooling and in the wider education system. The literature often focuses on their educational achievements, depicting them as a successful ethnic minority (Francis & Archer, 2005a; Archer & Francis, 2007). Stereotypical representations have also been evidenced in educational research where British-Chinese pupils' learning attitudes have often been depicted as conformist and deferent (Woodrow & Sham, 2001). In contrast, the pupil-teacher interactions and the pupils' statements about culture showed a more vibrant image. The pupils who took part in this study played a major role in the dynamics of the schools as they not only engaged with cultural activities but also critiqued the pedagogies of the schools, for example, the centrality of the textbooks, and even challenged their teachers by questioning the relevance of their teachings (e.g., the use of legends and fables) and their status as English speakers (see 6.2.2). Being far from passive recipients of education, they demonstrated strong opinions about what made the teaching of culture relevant

or irrelevant to them and what they wished to learn at school, that is, something they could connect with in their daily lives.

RQ4: How do pupils present and interpret their identity based on their constructions of language, culture, and involvement in Chinese community schools? How are these identities confirmed and contested by others?

Chapter 7 addressed the last research question by investigating how pupils constructed their identities vis-à-vis their overall experiences at the two Chinese community schools and, in particular, their understandings of language and culture. In light of the theoretical framework of this study and the influence of social identity theory (SIT) (see 2.5), the accounts of parents and teachers were also investigated because others can also attribute and contest identities.

Here, Chinese identity emerged as a discursive construct that pupils and adults negotiated in terms of: their family, ancestry, experience of migration, personal histories, and so on; their statements about culture (i.e., projected images about Chinese culture); their construction of language (i.e., the ways in which people attributed authenticity); and, the intercultural encounters that they had in England within and outside their community schools.

The first part of the chapter centred on the analysis of pupils' accounts. As far as pupils' constructions of Chinese language were concerned, the analysis has shown that pupils saw a multiplicity of languages as contributing to somebody's Chinese identity. They also suggested that the Chinese identities constructed through these languages can be multiple, overlapping, and contextual and that they can be at play in different contexts with different social groups. For example, pupils having Cantonese as their CHL considered Mandarin important as a means to engage and seek affiliation with other Chinese people. As far as the pupils' construction of Chinese culture was concerned, the findings demonstrated how, through the experiential activities at the schools, pupils began to think about culture as informing their own lives. In line with Holliday's (1999) theorisation of small culture, pupils used their own statements or projected images of Chinese culture to form their own Chinese small culture(s) in the context of the school. Moreover, by constructing positive statements

about Chinese culture or cultural artefacts (i.e., pride in one's Chinese ancestry), pupils co-constructed with their peers a positive sense of Chinese in-group membership and they chose to associate with a sense of Chinese identity.

Although language, culture, and also relationships did emerge as important in relation to pupils' identity constructions, these identities were not constructed and negotiated exclusively around those factors or markers. The analysis revealed rather the multiplicity of identities that pupils constructed in the specific context of their weekly CCS classes as they interacted with one another, with their teachers, their parents, and with me, the researcher. The process through which these pupils constructed a number of small cultures in their lives played an important role in shaping the complexity in their sense of identity and identification. As pupils began to make sense of the small cultures they encountered in their community and mainstream school, they gained not only self-awareness but also developed intercultural learning through their encounters with others in the schools (i.e., English people who were interested in learning about Chinese language and culture). Such learning was reflected upon in relation to their own Chinese heritage, regardless of the provenance of their family, and the languages they ascribed to their small culture identification.

The second part of the chapter investigated how adults reinforced, substantiated, and also contested the pupils' constructions of identity. On the one hand, adults used ideas of authenticity to contest the status of pupils as Chinese. Here they attributed a potentially remedial role to the community schools as a means for pupils to make sense of who they are and construct a sense of Chinese identity. On the other hand, their accounts captured a sense of change and fluidity in how Chinese people understand their own sense of identity around the world because of societal changes, migration, a growing intergenerational gap, and the intercultural encounters they are exposed to. This finding contrasts with ideas of fixity and ossification in participants' accounts critiqued in the literature on Chinese community schooling (e.g., Archer et al., 2010; Francis et al., 2010).

In conclusion, consistent with the findings discussed in chapters 5 and 6, examples of the complexity and diversity in Chinese identity emerged

throughout the chapter. Pupils implicitly challenged benchmarks of authenticity used by adults and in so doing they claimed their own individuality and, at the same time, their position as members of the Chinese community.

8.2 Contributions and implications

This section presents the theoretical contributions and implications arising from this study (s), followed by its methodological contributions and implications (8.2.2). Finally, in discussing the pedagogical implications emerging from this study (8.2.3), I outline a number of recommendations for the community schools.

8.2.1 Theoretical contributions and implications

Located in the fields of intercultural education and communication, this study has drawn on the theoretical domains of language, culture, and identity and these have been dealt with using an interdisciplinary and intercultural perspective that resonates with the concept of the bricolage approach (Denzin & Lincoln, 2001). In my analysis, I drew on scholars such as Valdés (1986), Byram (1997), and Kramsch (1998) who show that culture and language are bound together and impact on people's identity (Chen & Collier, 2012). The study contributes to the theoretical discussions in these three areas and to their significance in relation to the phenomenon of intercultural Chinese language education.

A framework for researching (Chinese) language community schooling

Drawing on the answers to my research questions, on the findings that led to them, and on my reflexive analysis of the research process, I have been able to develop a framework for conducting interpretivist ethnographic research on language community schooling.

The framework encompasses three conceptual domains:

1. A 'bricolage' approach which is both interdisciplinary and intercultural.
2. Researcher reflexivity and researching multilingually praxis.
3. A concern for social justice in the view that educational research can and should inform political action.

The diagram below provides a graphical representation of the framework.

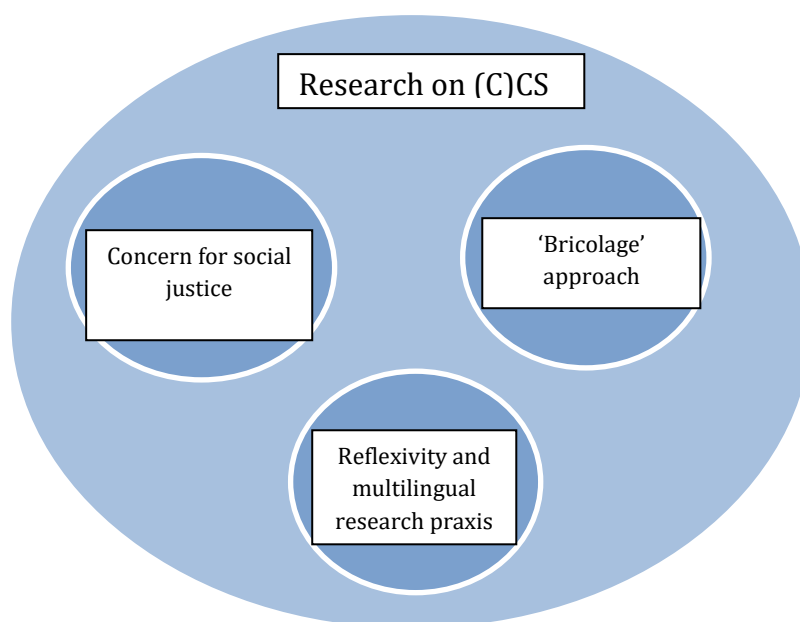


Figure 8.1 A framework for researching (Chinese) language community schooling.

The framework comprises three domains that researchers need to consider when designing, carrying out, writing up, and disseminating a research project on language community schooling and, in particular, on CCS. I created the framework to signify both a ‘bricolage’ theoretical approach that researchers should adopt, a methodological concern for reflexivity and multilingual research praxis, and an ideological commitment to social justice in educational research.

As indicated in the diagram, the three domains comprise the overarching research set on (Chinese) community schooling. They are equally important in the framework, and they need to be simultaneously embedded in the research process.

Here, I give a brief overview of the three domains. A more substantial description of how these have been drawn upon in this study will then be provided in the second part of this section (theoretical contributions and implications) and in 8.2.2 (methodological contributions and implications).

'Bricolage' approach

The first domain of the framework concerns its theoretical approach and, in particular, the use of a 'bricolage' approach to capture the complexity of the phenomenon of CCS (see discussion in 2.6).

For the purpose of this study, I adopted two key features of the 'bricolage' approach: interdisciplinarity and reflexivity (Lincoln, 2001; Kincheloe et al., 2017).

As far as the role of interdisciplinarity is concerned, the theoretical framework of the study comprised different domains (e.g., intercultural communication and education, socio- and applied linguistics, and psychology). In the four findings chapters, a 'bricolage' approach was adopted to provide a comprehensive understanding of different aspects of community schooling.

Holliday's (2013) grammar of culture played a prominent role in the theoretical framework of this study. Originally designed as a framework to investigate culture, the grammar has been used in this study to explore the interrelation of culture, language, and identity through an intercultural lens. I discuss in detail the theoretical contributions of this approach on page 269.

Although the grammar has provided a structure to interpret participants' narrations, the theorisation of identity in this study has drawn significantly from the concept of social identity and the framework of social identity theory (SIT) (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Brown, 2000). These theories were useful in helping me to understand how individuals construct their identities in relation to a perceived membership to a particular group. The ways in which the concept of social identity and the framework of SIT have contributed to the intercultural approach of this study are also discussed in page 269.

Language has been theorised in relation to themes that emerged from the reviewed literature on community schooling (i.e., Chinese heritage language, language practices, language as an identity marker). First, theories of heritage language (HL) and Chinese heritage language (CHL) (see 2.3.1) and their critiques provided a major theoretical input to this study. As I discussed and deconstructed these concepts, I critiqued the idea of CCS as heritage language

schools, as the approach of these schools is predicated on an assumption that pupils are an homogenous group of heritage language learners/speakers. Secondly, Kramsch's (1998, 2012) understanding of the interrelationship between language, culture, and identity and her conceptualisation of native speakerism were also important in shaping my own theoretical framework. For example, in chapter 5 the concept of native speakerism has been used to make sense of the language hierarchies in the schools.

Other theories have also been important, although in a more circumscribed way, in providing a deeper understanding of the researched phenomena and these are discussed later on in this chapter. For example, Bourdieu's (1984, 1986, 1989) concept of capital has been used in chapter 4 to make sense of how participants valued the role of community education in their lives. In chapter 6, a number of elements from Van Lier's (2004, 2012) ecological approach have been employed to understand the classroom ideologies of language as culture.

Overall, the different theories used in this study should not be seen as competing for a prominent position. Although some of them played a greater role than others, each of them was needed to construct an intercultural research framework. As I focused on the idea of intercultural encounters and their significance in the schools, the different theories were used in support of one another to capture the complexity of participants' constructions and to support my reflexive analysis.

Reflexivity and researcher multilingual praxis

The second domain of the framework concerns the importance for researchers to undertake research that is both reflexive (Holmes, 2014) and that accounts for multilingual researcher praxis (Holmes et al., 2016).

As anticipated in 2.6, I have undertaken this study in the awareness of the importance of embedding reflexivity and multilingual praxis in my own research practice. I then discussed the multilingual dimension of this study and the role of researcher reflexivity respectively in 3.4.6 and 3.4.7.

Reflexivity and researching multilingually praxis have permeated every stage of this study. For example—as advocated by Kincheloe et al. (2017)—I asked

myself whether I had sufficient knowledge of the communities I wanted to research. Then, I questioned the assumptions I might have had about them and how these could have impacted on my relationships with participants and on the research process. Furthermore—as Holmes et al. (2013) suggest— I made sense of the multilingual complexities of this study by exploring the dimensions of research spaces (e.g., research context and representational possibilities), and relationships (e.g., power relationships). Finally, I pondered the implications of my work for the people whose voices I represented. In other words, I acknowledged and reflected upon my own positioning as a researcher, with its challenges and affordances, throughout the development of the study.

Although the centrality of researcher reflexivity resonates with a ‘bricolage’ approach (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Kincheloe et al. 2017), the importance of multilingual research praxis and its interrelation with reflexivity in research on CCS represents one of this study’s distinctive contributions.

How this study has contributed towards existing scholarship in the areas of reflexivity and multilingual research (theory and methodology) is discussed in further detail on page 274.

Concern for social justice

The third domain of the framework concerns the ideological orientation of the researcher and the call for educational research to demonstrate a commitment to social justice.

For the purpose of this study, I understand ideology as a system of ideas which drives behavioural choices (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) and that, by so doing, enables individuals to understand a phenomenon (Holliday, 2010a). In the framework, the ideological orientation of researchers informs not only their understanding of the phenomenon under study (language community schools), but defines how they see the ultimate purpose of their research.

The work of Paulo Freire (1970; 1995), and in particular, his concern for praxis as action informed by values of social justice, bears a particular significance for this domain of the framework. Inspired by Freire (1970), ‘bricolage’ researchers (e.g., McLaren, 2001; Jardine, 2006) argue that researchers should actively

promote social change and justice by pursuing opportunities to influence policy makers. In section 8.2.2, I explore in further detail how a commitment to social justice and political action is an important remit of research on migrant communities and their language community schools.

Having shown how this study enabled me to create a framework for researching (Chinese) language community schooling, the next part of this section discusses in further detail the other theoretical contributions and implications of the study.

Researching culture, language, and identity: An intercultural approach

This study offers a number of theoretical contributions and implications. First, the theoretical framework of social constructionism (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; 1979; 1991)—presented in 3.1—enabled me to focus on pupils’ and adults’ subjective understandings of community schooling as shared human experience. In particular, social constructionism was useful in capturing the processes through which participants constructed and negotiated Chinese culture, language, and identity as they socialised and interacted in the context of the schools. The findings of this study have shown how participants’ constructions of Chinese language, culture, and identity are shaped not only by their individual life trajectories (i.e., experiences of migration and family backgrounds) but also by the relationships and intercultural encounters they have with others within and outside the schools. For example, as shown in 7.1.2 migrant pupils valued the ways in which CCS could facilitate intercultural encounters between people from different backgrounds and, in particular, with ‘Western’ people with a positive attitude towards China, whom they perceived as different from people they met at their normal school. As pupils reflected on their own sense of identity, they also moved towards a sense of interest and positive engagement with local people.

Furthermore, the findings indicated that through their involvement in CCS pupils valued the ability to develop self-awareness and identification in a Chinese social in-group regardless of their individual backgrounds and trajectories (i.e., their being either migrants from China or British-born). For example, a number of pupils used the Mandarin language skills they acquired

through CCS to seek affiliation with the (perceived) group of Chinese people who, in contrast to themselves and their families, speak neither Cantonese nor English. This finding aligns with the study's framework of social identity theory (SIT) which is based on the idea that individuals construct their identity or identities in relation to a perceived and favourable membership to a particular group/s (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Brown, 2000).

Overall, this study focused on participants' individual experiences of CCS so as to argue that constructions of language, culture, and identity need to be investigated in relation to one another and in light of the interactions and encounters that people experience (e.g., encounters with Chinese people from different geographical backgrounds). An intercultural approach has been adopted throughout the study as it sees interculturality as a fluid process that implies a multiplicity and intersectionality of perspectives about culture and identity and language (Jin, 2016) exhibited by people in social interaction. Ideas of multiplicity and intersectionality have been important in this thesis as a means through which to challenge and deconstruct stereotypical constructions of Chinese language, culture, and identity.

The 'grammar of culture' as a framework for researching culture, language, and identity

The use of Holliday's (2013) grammar of culture as a framework to investigate people's constructions of language, culture, and identity and to capture their interdependence in educational contexts represents one of this study's theoretical contributions.

At the outset of this study, I chose Holliday's grammar of culture (2013, 2016) and his concept of small cultures (1999) to research culture for a number of reasons. First, the grammar subscribes to the methodological and philosophical approach that underpins this study (e.g., interpretivism and social constructionism). Secondly, the grammar is not aimed at pinning down a definition of culture (i.e., Chinese culture/s as constructed by pupils and adults and promoted by the agenda of the schools). Instead, it suggests a framework for understanding how individuals represent discourses of and about culture. Finally, the grammar does not only represent a theoretical framework to

understand culture from an intercultural perspective. As it signals what needs to be researched when investigating culture (i.e., statements about culture), it also provides a methodological framework for doing so (Holliday, 2016).

Although the grammar was designed as a framework to research culture with a particular focus on the underlying universal cultural processes that shape small cultures formation (Holliday, 2016), in this study I have made a case for its applicability in researching culture, language, and identity as intertwined concepts. As argued by Holliday (2010a, 2016), the statements of and about culture that participants construct can be analysed by researchers to make sense of the ways in which participants construct their identities through affiliation with particular groups. The grammar (Holliday, 2016) served the focus of this study on participants' subjective understandings of CCS, as it prompts researchers to explore details of everyday experience such as the importance for pupils of experiencing Chinese culture "rather than beginning with the grand narratives of cultural difference" (p. 28) and focusing on the ways in which participants might essentialise their 'large cultures'.

Holliday's (1999, 2016) concept of small culture formation has also been important in this study as it has enabled me to capture the ways in which participants identify with particular groups (i.e., how British-born pupils identify with peers sharing their languages and life trajectories). The importance of group affiliation in identity construction is also consistent with the here adopted framework of SIT. At the same time, the grammar has helped my analysis to transcend concepts of ethnic and national identity related to particular political entities (i.e., China-PRC and Taiwan-ROC) that are widely adopted in research on Chinese communities (i.e., Ang, 1998) and to focus on the richness and individuality of participants' accounts. As the grammar allows for movement beyond concepts of the nation-state and their role in informing people's identities, it aligns with the conceptualisation of 'China' in this study as a civilisation (see 1.5.1). As participants constructed their different small (Chinese) cultures (i.e., pupils constructed a Chinese identity despite the fact that they live in England and some of them were not fluent in Mandarin) which

were not tied to specific political entities, their accounts suggested the idea of a pan-Chinese identity.

Given the focus of this study, the position of language in the grammar also informed my theoretical choices. The grammar of culture also accounts for the importance of language in shaping one's identity, as Holliday (2010a, 2013, 2016) refers to language as one of many possible identity markers that he assigns to the domain of particular social and political structures (see Figure 2.1, chapter 2). However, for the purpose of this study, the theorisation of language in the grammar was found not to be sufficiently developed. Thus, I drew on the work of Kramsch (1998), Creese and Blackledge (2010), Zhu (2014), Byram (2006, 2013), and Heller (2007) to argue that language can be used to signal identity positions and the relationship between an individual and a given social group. For example, it was important to discuss the concept of native speakerism and how hierarchies of languages in the schools influenced the adults' perspectives of what Chinese language (e.g., standardised Mandarin) should be learnt by pupils. Literature and theories on Chinese language and CHL in the context of community education (i.e., Valdés'; 2001; Fishman, 2001; He, 2008; Li & Duff, 2008) were also an important component of the theoretical framework of this study. In contrast to previous studies (i.e., Li & Wu, 2008; Mau et al., 2009) that took for granted the idea of CCS as spaces for HL learners of the language of the schools (Cantonese or Mandarin), here I drew on these theories to question this assumption and to investigate whether the notion of CHL had any universal currency for pupils in the schools.

In conclusion, Holliday (2016) suggests his grammar of culture can be used as a framework to research culture as a social and political construct within the field of intercultural communication. This study has demonstrated the broader applicability of his model in educational contexts as a framework for studying the relationship between culture, language and identity provided some adjustments (i.e., supplementing the grammar with further theories on language) are made to it.

An ecological approach to classroom teaching and learning

The second theoretical contribution of this study concerns the applicability of a [language] ecology approach to the classroom teaching and learning in the context of community language education. As discussed in 2.2.3., by adopting an ecological approach I was able to investigate the multilayered relationships and interactions among elements in a language learning and teaching environment (van Lier, 2004). In this study, this approach was valuable, as it enabled me to capture how pupils negotiated identity positions, agency, and power in the classrooms as they interacted with one another and with their teachers (see 7.1.1 and 6.2.2).

Following Blackledge and Creese (2010), this study has endorsed the view of community school classrooms as ecological (language) microsystems (see 2.3.3). An ecological approach places the focus on different elements of the classroom teaching such as quality of learning and the quality of classroom interaction and on the broader educational experience (van Lier, 2004; 2012). However, in this study this approach has been adopted to investigate how pupils and teachers negotiated not only language but also culture and identity as interrelated concepts (see 6.2). For example, the concept of agency has been used in this study (see 6.1.1) to discuss how teachers envisaged their role as educators and what factors motivated them to teach Chinese culture in the classrooms. Further, as the concept of interaction is important in language ecology, I drew on it to discuss how pupils digested and responded to their teachers' efforts to teach culture through stories, fables, and supplemental materials (6.2.2).

Overall, considering the classrooms as ecological microsystems was useful as doing so shed light on issues related to the classroom teaching and learning, for instance, participants' motivations to teach and learn, and captured the ways in which these impacted on the classroom dynamics and relationships between pupils and teachers. Arguably, the theories of van Lier (2004)—discussed in 2.3.3 —are applicable to educational contexts other than (second) language classrooms.

The provision of capital in the schools

In addressing my first research question, I drew on the work of Bourdieu (1984, 1986, 1989) to make sense of how participants, and especially adults, understood the aim and focus of CCS in terms of the provision of capital in various forms. Although the idea of language as capital has been used in previous research (i.e., Francis & Archer, 2005; Francis & Archer 2007) to describe how pupils and adults perceived the benefit of Chinese language learning, in this study I sought to explore the applicability of capital as theorised by Bourdieu (1986). Hence, in 4.2.3 I referred to four types of capital (economic, cultural, social, and symbolic) which are constructed over time and interact to determine the individual's position within a particular social context. In this study, this concept was useful as it enabled me to capture how participants constructed a complexity of aims and foci of CCS including, but not restricted to, language learning. For example, a number of adults constructed Chinese language learning and the overall experience of community schooling in terms of both social (sense of affiliation with other Chinese people), and economic capital (i.e., enabling pupils to access future opportunities), and in terms of cultural capital (i.e., enabling pupils to internalise Chinese values).

However, the application of the Bourdiean concept of capital was also problematic. On the one hand, the construction of Chinese education at the community school as capital defined as a resource to generate advantage (e.g., economic, social, cultural) did consistently emerge from the data. However, at times participants' narratives encompassed more than one form of capital and so it was not always possible to make distinctions between them and further clarifications would have been required. For example, when Selina presented Chinese language and language learning as capital for her daughter's future, she (see 4.2.3) was not specific in defining what opportunities these offered, and so I could not ascertain if she understood language as social capital (e.g., offering opportunities to enhance one's social network) or economic capital (e.g., bringing career opportunities and, therefore, economic return) or both.

8.2.2 Methodological contributions and implications

This study has contributed to methodology in three main areas: multilingual research and reflexivity, social justice and ethical representation, and research with children and young people.

Multilingual research and reflexivity

First, this study has contributed towards existing scholarship in the area of multilingual research (theory and methodology). In 3.4.6 I explained how I used the theoretical framework created by Holmes et al. (2013, 2016) to make sense of the multilingual complexities and possibilities of this study. The framework comprises three phases aimed at developing researcher awareness. These phases, which can be understood in terms of researcher intentionality, are: 1) realisation that multilingual research represents a possibility and merits attention, followed by 2) consideration of the reflective, reflexive, spatial, and relational spaces of the research, leading to 3) informed and purposeful research involving research at different stages (e.g., research planning, implementing, (re)presentation) (Holmes et al., 2016). As anticipated in 3.4.6, the model is based on two key concepts: research spaces (spatiality) and research relationships (relationality).

A first consideration concerns the research spaces and the context of the research. This study is located in a wider English-speaking macrocontext (e.g., two different counties in England). However, within the microcontext of the research sites different languages were at play, these being: 1) Mandarin, as the official language of the schools and the first or second language of a number of people involved; 2) other 方言 *fāngyán* (i.e., Cantonese, Hakka, and Hokkien) spoken by several adults and pupils; and, 3) English, often used as a lingua franca to enable communication between speakers of different varieties of Chinese, and generally used by pupils to communicate with their peers. Other languages were also part of the context of the school (e.g., Spanish, Vietnamese and Malay, the first languages of a minority of parents), although these languages did not have a major impact on this study. Although I had previous experience of work and research with migrant communities, the complexity of the language context of this research exceeded my expectations as, for example,

I was surprised to witness how English—that was central in the research design for the reasons discussed in 3.4.6—was used in conversation between Chinese parents (e.g., between a number of Cantonese and Mandarin speakers). Furthermore, in the research sites, English was a second or foreign language to both me and all the adult participants.

In terms of negotiating the researcher-participant linguistic agency, I adopted flexible multilingualism—a research strategy that draws upon the multilingual skills naturally present in the research context. This approach draws from my previous researcher experience in migrant communities (Ganassin & Holmes, 2013) where participants used English as a common second language making, at the same time, a strategic use of their wider language repertoires. Although my command of Mandarin was not sufficient to conduct full interviews, it still represented a valuable resource with which to engage with participants (i.e., adults and pupils who had migrated from China) who often mixed Chinese words and sentences when they wanted to convey a particular concept. The key emergent methodological implication relates to the fact that the negotiation of a shared second language supported the neutralisation of power imbalances. As participants began to realise that as a non-native speaker I have a foreign accent like they do and I make mistakes, they relaxed and often drew connections with me on the basis of our common status as migrants. Overall, by drawing on my language repertoire without using interpreters I felt that I could maintain a sense of ownership of the study and, at the same time, value the language repertoires of those involved, and represent the multilingual nature of the research context.

A different scenario determined the participation of pupils and contributed towards my researcher reflexivity. With the exception of the pupils who took part in FG1 and who all had Mandarin as their first language, the rest of pupils had English, in some case together with Cantonese, as their first and preferred language. Thus, when conducting research with pupils, they were in the favourable position of expressing themselves in their preferred language, which possibly helped to rebalance power issues between researcher and participants. Furthermore, as children and young people live in an adult-dominated world,

issues of power are likely to affect their relationship with adult-researchers (Punch, 2002). I found that my position as a speaker of English as a foreign language, and more generally my identity as a “foreigner” who was neither English nor Chinese, was both empowering for children and helpful for me in triggering their interest in my research. As I began to attend the schools, a number of pupils approached me and asked me questions about my presence in their schools and, as we became more familiar with each other, about my life in Italy. Unlike a number of other researchers who previously conducted studies on CCS in the UK (i.e., Li, 1993; Wu, 2006; Mau, 2013), I, as an Italian first language speaker, could not draw on the vantage point of native ethnography. However, my own language repertoires and life trajectories (i.e., experience of living in different countries including China and Taiwan, being Italian, speaking some Mandarin) were also valuable for me as they helped me to develop research relationships with pupils and adults. In this study, the dimension of relationality involved both the interpersonal and linguistic building of relationships with participants and so was significant for building trust.

Having some degree of Chinese literacy was also extremely useful as I could take research notes in simplified Chinese characters or, at least 拼音 *pīnyīn*, to document my observation of classroom-teaching and other discussions in the schools noting, for example, how participants used their own language repertoires. Furthermore, my experience of studying Chinese as a foreign language informed my choices in the data presentation. All the data have been presented in the original languages used during the data collection at the research site. When reviewing the literature, I had noticed that researchers tend to present in Chinese exclusively and in Chinese characters (e.g., He, 2008; Li & Wu, 2008; Creese & Blackledge, 2010). However, as I found this choice potentially problematic and disengaging for readers with no command of Chinese characters, I chose to add a transliteration in the Latin alphabet. Thus, where Mandarin language was used the text is presented both in simplified Chinese characters and in 拼音 *pīnyīn* with English translations in brackets. By doing so, I wanted to guide readers with written and/or spoken Mandarin skills (拼音 *pīnyīn* is useful for Chinese speakers with no character literacy skills) and readers with no command of Mandarin characters through the data.

A last consideration related to the multilingual aspect of this research concerns the role of Italian as my own native language. Throughout the study, I felt that my choice of conducting a study on Chinese communities in England would have excluded my own language from the research process. For example, I could not rely on my own native language in the writing up of this thesis. This resulted in a constant process of transferring ideas from Italian into English, where not only practical, structural, and translation issues were involved but, at times, I felt that the stylistic differences I had to consider were such that I could risk feeling estranged from my own writing. However, as my writing up of this thesis has moved towards its conclusion, I have come to realise that Italian was still there at all times. For example, a number of the research notes that I took were in Italian, especially where I had to note down observations related to Chinese grammar or history (i.e., how it was explained by teachers), subjects that I had studied in Italian. My experience of studying Chinese language and history in Italy also informed the choice of some of the literature that has been used in this study.

In conclusion, during my 14-month engagement in the field I had to negotiate my own and others' language repertoires and preferences in my methodology. As multilingualism permeated my researcher's role at all stages, it had a major impact on the ethics of the research and my researcher reflexivity and also on researcher-participant linguistic agency and relationship-building and trust with participants. The multilingual researcher insights gained from this study, therefore, support the need to embed a multilingual approach in the research methodology of a project (see, for example, Holmes et al., 2013) where multilingual interactions and language practices—of the researcher, participants, and context—are present. The outcomes of this study suggest that any language repertoire that the researcher brings into his or her research site contributes to the richness and uniqueness of his/her study.

Social justice and ethical representation

As this study was undertaken to promote intercultural dialogue and to give visibility and ethical representation to the Chinese communities in England, I see informing policy decisions as one of the remits of my study.

In chapter 1 (1.4), I discussed how my interest for China and background in Chinese studies, combined with my experience of work in the NGO sector, gave rise to this study. Writing from a position of an academic researcher but also community practitioner, I understand a commitment to social justice as central in educational research, as researchers have not only the power but also the duty to inform political action. Such understanding is informed by the role played by languages in this study and, in particular, by the importance of researching multilingually as an ethically-informed and reflexive researcher, as this study advocates.

When researching within migrant communities, researchers have the responsibility not only to ensure effective participation of and communication with the participants, but also to maintain an ethical representation of those involved (Ganassin & Holmes, 2013). As O'Neill (2010) contends, researchers need to demonstrate a commitment to cultural and—it can be added, linguistic and social—justice to avoid cultural and linguistic domination, nonrecognition, and misrecognition of their research subjects/participants. I see such responsibilities as being even more urgent in the current British social and political context where migrants face increasing challenges and the (mis)representation of migrant communities as isolated and unwilling to integrate is potentially dangerous.

Research and political action are thus important in bricolage research (Kincheloe et al. 2011, 2017). In line with the work of thinkers such as Freire (1970) and his critical pedagogical approach, bricoleur researchers should be committed to investigating and producing new forms of knowledge. More importantly, such knowledge can and should inform policy decisions and political action aimed at social change (McLaren, 2001; Jardine, 2006; Kincheloe et al., 2011).

Taking a lead from the work of Kincheloe and Berry (2004), the approach to ethnographic research on migrant communities and their community schools proposed by this study takes into account the importance for researchers of being aware of how social structures play out in everyday life and within the specific social, cultural, and historical context where a study is located.

As researchers have the power to voice and represent their participants, they also have the responsibility to ensure that such representation is ethical, transparent in accounting for the researcher's positioning, and that their research has the potential to inspire social change.

Research with children and young people: using visual methods

A further methodological contribution of this study concerns research with children and young people and the use of visual methods. In particular, as previous studies on community schooling have used more traditional methods such as observational methods and interviews (as described in chapter 2), I wanted this study to be an opportunity to use and evaluate alternative tools.

In evaluating the usage of pupil views templates (PVTs) as a visual method in research with children, Wall et al. (2011) contend that the method offers the advantages of inclusivity and flexibility of administration. For example, researchers can distribute the templates, collect them, and analyse them without the need for further engagement with participants. In this study, a number of issues related to the use of visual methods emerged. Overall, the cartoon storyboards, which were modelled on the PVT, and the Venn diagrams supported the engagement of pupils in the study, especially the younger ones who enjoyed taking part in a group activity. At the same time, these visual methods did not represent an inclusive method. In Deer River School pupils perhaps decided not to complete their Venn diagrams and cartoon storyboard because of peer pressure. Thus, my having already developed a set of focus group questions that I could ask pupils independently from the creation of visual artefacts turned out to be a key decision in ensuring their participation. If I had intended to rely solely on visual methods, the data collection process would have been compromised. At the same time, the analysis of the visual artefacts would have been problematic without the accompanying narratives provided in the focus group interviews (where pupils discussed the content and meaning of their visual artefacts). Although written texts are extensively present in the cartoon storyboards, a number of drawings were potentially ambiguous and so credibility in the data analysis was achieved through the participants' narratives.

As a result of this study, I follow Pink (2004) in recommending that visual methods are used in triangulation with other tools of data collection such as interviews to ensure credibility and to create a “thick description” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) of children’s language, culture, and identity experiences.

8.2.3 Pedagogical implications

The purpose of this study was not to evaluate the pedagogies of the schools, that is, the ways in which the teaching of Chinese language and culture was promoted and implemented in the classrooms. However, as I engaged with pupils, parents, teachers, and head teachers and I observed them in different settings, I reflected on a number of issues that are here discussed in the form of recommendations.

Recommendations to those involved in the schools are included in the conclusions of this doctoral study for two main reasons. First, I took into account the suggestions of a number of participants who, as we developed relationships of trust and in some cases of friendship, asked me to share their concerns and suggestions with others in the schools (i.e., committee members, parents, teachers) and to offer my advice. Second, I believe that community-based research needs to give something back to those who made it possible. By creating a dialogue between the academic institution that I am affiliated with and the local Chinese communities, I hope that this study can make a contribution in terms of public engagement.

Recommendations for the community schools

This study has demonstrated how CCS is important for pupils and adults both from an educational and social point of view. At the same time, a number of issues emerged including a lack of dialogue and open confrontation amongst those involved in the schools. First, an unacknowledged disjoint between the view of the schools in promoting Mandarin, and at the same time diminishing the value of other 方言 *fāngyán*, and particularly Cantonese, emerged and seemed to impact on the dynamics of the schools. Thus, the first recommendation of this study prompts school staff and parents to value the language repertoires that pupils and families have (e.g., their fluency in

Cantonese) rather than supporting the privileging of one Chinese language over another. At the same time, by valuing the variety of pupils' language repertoires, encouraging their ability to use translanguaging as a pedagogy strategy, and supporting the connections that pupils could potentially draw across different 方言 *fāngyán*, teachers could possibly improve their classroom engagement.

Second, this study revealed that pupils and teachers shared a number of concerns about curriculum and textbooks (i.e., lack of relevance of the 中文 *Zhongwen* textbooks). These concerns were partially acknowledged and shared by head teachers and other decision-makers (e.g., teaching coordinators, committee members). Thus, head teachers and teachers should consider revising the syllabus and, for example, delivering the classroom-teaching through alternative materials more relevant to day-to-day life that could better engage pupils (i.e., alternative textbooks or materials created by the schools).

Third, the lack of engagement of pupils in the classrooms emerged as a core issue that all adults seemed aware of although they struggled to find solutions to it. Hence, greater attention should be paid not only by teachers and head teachers but also by parents as major decision-makers in the schools to listening to and accommodating pupils' needs, desires, and expectations. For example, this study has contended that pupils value the opportunity to learn about Chinese culture in the schools through practical activities such as plays, group work, and celebrations. Activities such as these could be incorporated more substantially into the classroom teaching.

Furthermore, the findings from this study have shown that a number of teachers felt they had to prioritise pursuing the agenda of the schools (i.e., a specific focus on exams and qualifications) and the fulfilment of parental wishes over their own goals as educators. This tension resulted in frustration and the feeling of being at the margin of any decision-making process. Therefore, I suggest that the schools would benefit from greater teacher involvement in the major decisions involving the schools, for example, by inviting them to the committee meetings where, drawing on their classroom experience, they could suggest ways to increase pupils' engagement.

Finally, parents generally placed high expectations on their children's attendance and they were enthusiastic supporters of Chinese community education. They hoped that community schooling could help their children to become confident speakers of Mandarin and to internalise "Chinese values and behaviours". At the same time, a number of teachers lamented the lack of involvement of parents in their children's education. This issue is potentially related to the fact that a number of parents undervalued their own ability to support their children, particularly in terms of Chinese language education (i.e., ability of parents to speak a standard Mandarin). Again, valuing the language and personal backgrounds of those in the schools could contribute to easing these problems.

In conclusion, this study has demonstrated how Chinese community schools are important sites for intercultural learning not only for the Chinese but also for others in the host community who can also get involved in CCS. The potential role of the schools in supporting migrant children's learning of English also emerged and, although not accounted for in previous research, could represent an area of development for the schools as they could, for example, offer specific classes on English as second/foreign language for migrant pupils.

8.3 Limitations of the study

While this study has made many contributions and pointed to its implications, it also has some limitations. The first set of limitations of the study concerns the qualitative- interpretive dimension of the study and the use of ethnography. A full ethnographic study generally involves sustained personal contact with participants and ongoing, continual data collection within the setting or group that is being investigated (Jackson, 2016). This study presented practical limitations that prevented it from being carried out as a full ethnographic study. First of all, although community language schools have their own communities formed by pupils, staff, and parents, such communities meet together only once per week whilst for the rest of the time members live their own separate lives in different locations. Therefore, my engagement in the research context was restricted to the Sundays when schooling took place, plus any other social and cultural activities that I was able to attend, taking into account school breaks and festivities. Furthermore, although I spent 14 months in the field observing

participants and interacting with them, I was not able to observe them in other settings (i.e., at home, in the pupils' mainstream schools) that would have borne significantly on this study. For example, in the analysis of findings, the ways in which pupils use Chinese languages at home (i.e., in 5.1 Kitty and Yvonne explained that they use Hakka and Cantonese with their grandparents) are discussed only through their accounts whilst my own observations are absent. For the same reason, the ways in which pupils negotiate constructions of CHL with their parents are not investigated in this study.

Further limitations of ethnography and more broadly qualitative research relate to credibility and transferability that, as discussed in 3.4.8, correspond to quantitative research's criteria of internal and external validity. First, credibility places the attention on the truthfulness of the findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In ethnography, achieving credibility is potentially problematic as the researcher's bias, his/her own worldviews, and the subjectivity of his/her own observations may be at play. In this study, I tried to mitigate these issues by providing a rich and comprehensive picture of the phenomenon under study (i.e., by using qualitative methods that provided a thick description of the phenomenon). Second, transferability entails the notion that research findings can be transferred to other contexts. Following Holloway (1997), I addressed issues of transferability in this study by providing a detailed account of my experience in the field and by investigating and making explicit the dynamics occurring between participants and me. Other researchers can then make decisions about the transferability of the findings of this study and its overall relevance to their studied contexts and phenomena (Jackson, 2006). Acknowledging such limitations, I adopted an ethnographic approach in my study to explore in depth participants' accounts in everyday contexts rather than under conditions created by me, the researcher (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

A further limitation relates to the researcher position and, in particular, to my own language repertoires and how they influenced the data collection process and the research relationality. The choice to use English as the main language of the data collection and the study's language protocol impacted on the

recruitment of participants. A number of adults in the schools did not have a sufficient command of English to take part in an interview. In some cases, this lack of fluency in English was due to people's recent experiences of migration or to the fact that they were home makers or housewives with few opportunities to use English. In other cases, people's perceptions of their English language skills made them hesitant about taking part in the study. Even though we had informal conversations where, with some degree of translanguaging, we could comfortably understand each other, a couple of potential participants decided that their English was not good enough for a full interview. Although my command of Mandarin was good enough for me to engage in informal conversation with people in the schools and to understand a number of discussions people had inside and outside the classrooms, it was not sufficient for me to offer participants the option of a full interview in their own language. As a result, a number of potential participants were precluded from being part of this study. Thus, a researcher coming from the vantage point of being a native speaker could have had access to a wider sampling of participants at the study's research sites. However, in light of the linguistic complexity that I encountered in the schools, determining what the vantage point of a native speaker would actually be is also potentially problematic. In fact, to a number of people, and particularly parents, Mandarin was as much of a foreign language to them as English was because they were speakers of Hokkien, Hakka or Cantonese. Arguably, a Mandarin-speaker researcher would also have encountered issues in the recruitment of participants whose first language was not Mandarin.

A further limitation of the study connected to not only my researcher language repertoires but also to the research methods I used concerns the collection of observational data in Chinese language(s). For example, the investigation of translanguaging and classroom language practices presented a number of challenges. First, although I could recognise when pupils were using other 方言 *fāngyán* in the classrooms (i.e., Cantonese, Hokkien) I could not understand what they were saying. Second, I was not allowed to audio-record the classroom interactions and so language practices were documented through research field notes. Although, I was able to take notes in simplified characters or 拼音 *pīnyīn* (see Appendix I), at times it was difficult to capture incidents in full.

8.4 Directions for future research

This study has highlighted the need for studies that account for the intercultural dimension of CCS. By undertaking different lines of research, future studies could further contribute to existing scholarship in the areas of theory (i.e., theorisation of CHL, language practices, and translanguaging), policy, pedagogy, and methodology (e.g., multilingual research).

As far as the transmission of Chinese language is concerned, future research could investigate the root of language hierarchies and of the ideologies underlying the dominance of Mandarin in the context of CCS at the expense of other 方言 *fāngyán*. Research could also explore the effects that a transition towards a focus on Mandarin might entail, and whether the notion of one universal CHL does have any currency for pupils whose CHL is not Mandarin.

The connection between other 方言 *fāngyán* and pupils' sense of Chinese identity could be investigated in greater depth through the investigation of the language practices in the schools, including translanguaging. In light of the limitations of this study discussed in (8.3), I suggest that future studies could draw on the fields of linguistic ethnography or applied linguistics. The researcher's multilingual affordances (i.e., his or her ability to speak Mandarin and other 方言 *fāngyán*) would also play a key role in the investigation of language practices.

The pedagogic and social significance of Chinese community schools as intercultural spaces both within the Chinese communities and in the wider society could also be explored by future studies. For example, the importance of community schooling for migrant pupils (i.e., learning English and engaging in positive intercultural encounters with the host community members) and which emerged as an original contribution of this study, could be further investigated since to date there have been no specific studies on the topic.

Future research could also investigate how national educational policies and policies on heritage language education impact on the agenda of the community schools and on their relationship with a country's or a number of countries'

mainstream education system/s. Such a study could also support the creation of best practice, teaching approaches, and teaching materials.

Finally, it would be interesting to observe pupils and the others involved in the schools outside of their classroom and school environments. I developed this study in the knowledge that the construction and negotiation of Chinese language, culture, and identity are not limited to the context of the community schools. Thus, further research could investigate how pupils use, construct, and negotiate their Chinese language repertoires at home. A possible area of study could investigate whether the learning of Mandarin at a community school changes, influences, or replaces the language(s) that the pupils have already learnt in the home and continue to use there.

By exploring these themes researchers could contribute not only towards the literature on language community schooling, but also towards the literature on Chinese language education and intercultural education in the broader context of migration and migrant communities.

8.5 Final remarks

By providing an account of participants pupils', parents', and school staff's lived experiences of CCS in England, this study has contributed to practice and research in a number of ways. First, it has demonstrated how Chinese community schools are linguistically and culturally varied spaces where pupils, parents, teachers, and head teachers coconstruct concepts of Chinese language and culture that are both informed by their life trajectories and ideologically charged. Such complexity needs to be dealt with in research in order to understand the importance of the schools not only for the communities that are involved in them but also for the wider host society.

Second, by exploring the diversity of the school population, this study has challenged the view of community schools as "ethnic enclaves" (i.e., Francis et al., 2009) where communities seek to isolate themselves. In contrast, the outcomes of this study indicated that these schools are spaces that encourage intercultural encounters and, as such, are sites for intercultural awareness and development.

This study has also contributed to theory and methodology in a number of ways. By raising and addressing a number of issues concerning research spaces and relationships, the study has made a methodological contribution towards existing scholarship on researching multilingually. Further, this study has demonstrated how Holliday's (2013) grammar of culture can be used as a theoretical and methodological framework to investigate the interrelation of culture, language, and identity.

Finally, the study has suggested a number of lines of research which could extend existing scholarship in the areas of theory, methodology, pedagogy, and policy.

When I began this study in 2011, I was working in a project funded by the Department for Communities and Local Government to support migrant and refugee women and their children. At the time, initiatives were flourishing to facilitate intercultural dialogue between the host communities and others who had migrated to the UK. Five years later, as this study has come to a conclusion, I feel that the political and social climate in the UK has changed and migrant communities face new challenges and uncertainty.

This study has attempted to give visibility to the Chinese communities in England and it has, I hope, contributed to the challenging and resisting of stereotypes both in research and in the media such as a supposed Chinese conformism and cultural insularity. As the narratives of participants unfolded in the chapters, an intersectionality of perspectives about language and culture identity emerged vis-à-vis participants' personal life trajectories in light of their intercultural encounters within and outside their community schools. Arguably, the intercultural dimension of CCS is even more important in the current political, economic, and social climate where increasing uncertainties risk fuelling tensions between migrants, the Other, and host communities.

Appendix A: Glossary

Here I present how I used and interpreted a number of recurrent key terms for the purpose of this study:

Authenticity	This study constructs authenticity as an identity issue following the work of Beinhoff and Rasinger (2016). Throughout the study I referred to authenticity (of language and culture) in the context of community language schooling (CCS). Used in relation to the concept of Chinese language speakers, authenticity requires the link to an identifiable origin and group membership (see legitimacy) (Kramsch, 2012).
British-Chinese community 英国华侨 <i>yīngguó huáqiáo</i>	The community of Chinese migrants in the UK has a diverse origin which includes a large representation of Cantonese and Hakka speakers (including migrants from Hong Kong and Macao) and the presence of migrants from Taiwan and Singapore (Benton & Gomez, 2008).
Capital	Capital is a valuable, legitimate, and exchangeable resource that can generate social advantage (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986, 1989). Bourdieu (1986, 1989) defines four types of capital: economic (financial resources); cultural (familiarity with the dominant culture in a society); social (related to a durable in-group membership); and, symbolic (the form assumed by capital when it is assumed as legitimated).
China	In this study, the term China is used to refer to the People's Republic of China including the two SARs of Hong Kong and Macao.
Chinese Heritage Language (CHL)	See the general definition of heritage language (HL). Furthermore, Chinese as a heritage language (CHL) has its own specificities (He, 2008). Although Mandarin (also defined as 普通话 <i>pǔtōnghuà</i> common language) is the official language of the People's Republic of China there are seven major varieties of Chinese or 方言 <i>fāngyán</i> that can have the value of CHL. Although Chinese community schools are sometimes termed as heritage language schools (e.g., Li & Wu, 2008), their target language (Mandarin or Cantonese) might not have family relevance and emotional value for learners, making problematic its definition as CHL.
Code-switching	A term used in some of the literature on community schooling to refer to a mixing of languages in the same utterance and alternation between languages in conversation, according to experience, environment, and communicative purposes (Li & Wu, 2008). The concept of 'translanguaging' is preferred to code-

	switching in this study and used to analyse the data.
Community Schools	<p>Also termed in the literature as supplementary schools or complementary schools (Creese, 2009; Li & Wu, 2008; Li & Wu, 2009; Li, 2006; Reay & Mirza, 2000).</p> <p>These schools form part of the non-mainstream education system for migrant and ethnic minority children. Some schools have a strong orientation towards a particular faith or religion, while others focus on supplementing the mainstream education curriculum or providing further opportunities for the exploration of culture-related topics. This study centres on the experiences of community language schools.</p>
Culture	The expression of meaning, values, and behaviours that are never stable and always changing and evolving (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Kramsch (2011) argues “culture is symbolically mediated through words, sounds and images”. In this study I explore constructions of culture through Holliday’s (1999) paradigms of ‘small’ and ‘large’ culture.
Curriculum	<p>There are many definitions of curriculum. For example, Kelly (1999) distinguishes planned, received, and hidden curriculum.</p> <p>Planned curriculum refers to contents and aims of the syllabus and, thus, to its theoretical aspect. Received curriculum refers to the reality of students’ experiences. Hidden curriculum includes the transmission of norms, values, and beliefs not overtly included in the planning, or even in the consciousness, of those responsible for the school arrangements. For the purpose of this study, if not otherwise specified, I adopt Kelly’s (1999) notion of planned curriculum.</p>
Discourse	<p>Scripts that individuals use to make sense of the reality around them. Individuals can use discourses as sets of assumptions to frame their understanding of the realities surrounding them (Holliday, 2013).</p> <p>According to Kramsch (2011), discourse organises meanings through conceptual categories it makes available to speakers. Culture and language can be interpreted as discourse.</p>
Ecological perspective(s)	<p>An approach to the study of educational contexts (and particularly language learning context) that focuses on the quality of learning, on the quality of classroom interaction, and on the broader educational experience (van Lier, 2010).</p> <p>Ecological perspectives centre on the creation of ecologically valid contexts and on the exploration of relationships rather than objects.</p>
<i>Fāngyán</i> 方言 (variety or dialect)	There are seven major varieties of Chinese language: Mandarin and six 方言 <i>fāngyán</i> classified by geographical and linguistic-structural characteristics: <i>Wu</i> , <i>Gan</i> , <i>Xiang</i> , <i>Min</i> , <i>Kejia</i> (Hakka), <i>Yue</i> (Cantonese)

	(Abbiati, 1996).
Fántizi 繁体字(Traditional characters)	Traditional Chinese characters, still used in Taiwan, Macau, and Hong Kong.
Heritage language (HL)	The idea of a heritage language evokes the family relevance and emotional value of the language for the learners (Fishman, 2001). It also assumes some degree of exposure to the language at home (Valdés, 2001). This study is particularly concerned with a critical discussion of the term Chinese heritage language (CHL).
Heritage language learner	This is a language student who is raised in a home where a non-English target language is spoken. HL learners speak, or at least understand, the language and they have some degree of multilingualism (Valdés, 2001).
Identity	For the purpose of this study, I refer to identity as “our sense of who we are and our relationship to the world” (Kanno, 2003, p. 3). Drawing on the perspective of social constructionism, this study has taken as its anchor the view that our identity positions are shifting, multifaceted, and dynamic (Hall, 2006) as we interact with others and with the environment.
Ideology	Ideology is a system of ideas which drives behavioural choices (Berger & Luckmann, 1979). For the purpose of this study, ideology is also defined as “a driving force of the description” of culture (Holliday, 2010b, p. 261) and language.
Interculturality	Zhu (2014, 2016) defines interculturality in relation to how people exhibit their cultural identities in everyday social interaction. According to (Borghetti et al., 2015), “It refers to potential dynamics associated with interactions, to their situated nature and to the discursive contingencies developing in/across them” (pp. 31-32). Interculturality is also a quality generally attributed to intercultural encounters.
Intercultural encounters	These are spaces where people from different cultural, national, and social backgrounds talk to each other. Intercultural encounters are also potential sites for intercultural learning and critical self-awareness development (Holmes & O’Neill, 2012).
Jiǎntizi 简体字 (simplified characters)	Simplified Chinese characters were introduced extensively in Mainland China by the Maoist regime in the mid-50s. The PRC published the ‘Chinese Character Simplification Scheme’ (汉字简化方案) in 1956 and the ‘Pinyin scheme’ in 1958. While Pinyin was recognized internationally in 1982, it was not until 2009 that a similar level of official recognition arose in Taiwan (Jin & Dervin, in press). <i>Jiǎntizi</i> are used in the transcriptions of this study.
Language	According to Kramsch (1998), language embodies cultural reality as people give meaning to their experience through the means of communication. Through language individuals also create experience

	<p>and meanings understandable to the group they are part of.</p> <p>Furthermore, language assumes a multitude of meanings, being not only a cultural reality but also many other things: a cultural marker, artefact, a cultural arena, and the location of a cultural universe (Holliday, 2010b).</p>
Large culture	<p>Holliday (1999) describes how a large culture paradigm focuses on notions of nation, centre and periphery, as the notion of large culture supports various spheres of political interest.</p> <p>The large and small culture paradigms are related to each other, as large cultures are reified small cultures.</p>
Legitimacy	<p>In this study, legitimacy refers to the status of speakers of a particular language. Legitimacy and authenticity are related concepts. Kramsch (2012) argues “one entails the other as a legitimate speaker is assumed to be an authentic member of a group” (p. 490). Legitimacy depends on the sanction of an institution.</p>
Mandarin (language)	<p>This is term conventionally used in English to refer to the official language of the PRC (普通话 <i>pǔtōnghuà</i>), Taiwan (國語 <i>guóyǔ</i>), and Singapore (华语 <i>huáyǔ</i>) (Zhu & Li, 2014). It varies, for instance, in terms of phonetics and discourse norms (He, 2008).</p>
Native speakerism/speakership speaker	<p>This term is often used as a benchmark for (foreign) language students. Kramsch (1997) argues that “native speakers are made rather than born” (p. 363). Native speakership brings to its speakers a certain authority associated with authenticity and legitimacy of language use (Kramsch, 1998).</p>
Reality	<p>Reality is used in relation to the framework of the social construction of reality adopted in this study. I follow Holliday’s (2013) argument that reality is that which is perceived by individuals.</p>
Republic of China (ROC) 中華民國 <i>Zhōnghuá Mínguó</i>	<p>The term Republic of China (ROC) is generally used to indicate the actual political entity of Taiwan (Huang, 2015). However, the term presents a degree of ambiguity. It was coined to refer to the republic established in China (1912-1949) between the end of the Qing dynasty (1644-1912) and the foundation of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) in 1949. From its founding until 1949, the ROC was situated in Mainland China and afterwards it continued to exist on the island of Taiwan (Sabattini & Santangelo, 2005).</p> <p>For the purpose of this study, in order to avoid ambiguity, I have preferred the term Taiwan to ROC.</p>
People’s Republic of China (PRC) 中华人民共和国 <i>Zhōnghuá Rénmín Gònghéguó</i>	<p>Founded in 1949, the PRC comprises four main municipalities (Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, and Chongqing), controlled directly by the national government, and 23 provinces. The ex-colonies of Hong Kong and Macao have been given the status of special administrative region (SAR). The SARs are</p>

	<p>today under the sovereignty— although not under the direct jurisdiction—of the PRC.</p> <p>The PRC also includes five autonomous regions or 自治区 <i>zìzhìqū</i> with greater law-making powers than those of the provinces. These are: the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, the Tibet (Xizang) Autonomous Region, the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, the Inner Mongolia (Nei Monggu) Autonomous Region, and the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region (Sabattini & Santangelo, 2005).</p>
Small culture (see large culture)	Holliday (1999) considers small culture formation “a dynamic, ongoing group process which operates in changing circumstances to enable group members to make sense of and operate meaningfully under those circumstances” (p. 248). A ‘small culture’ approach considers culture as socially constructed and, at the same time, is “concerned with social processes as they emerge” (p. 240).
Symbolic	This term is used with reference to discourse that, according to Kramsch (2011), can be viewed as symbolic representation (what words say and what they reveal about the mind), action (what words do and what they reveal about intentions), and power (what words index: i.e., what they reveal about social relations, individual and collective memories, emotions, and aspirations).
Taiwan	Used in this study to refer to the Republic of China (ROC) situated on the island of Taiwan. In the study, citizens of Taiwan are termed ‘Taiwanese’.
Theoretical perspective	This term refers to a set of assumptions about reality that are used to provide a framework to understand the reality itself.
Translanguaging	Translanguaging refers to the language practices in the multilingual classroom setting. It is defined by Garcia and Li (2014) as the “flexibility of bilingual learners to take control of their own learning, to self-regulate when and how to language, depending on the context in which they’re being asked to perform” (p. 80).

Appendix B: Research Ethics and Data Protection Monitoring Form

Durham University, School of Education

Research involving humans by all academic and related Staff and Students in the Department is subject to the standards set out in the Department Code of Practice on Research Ethics. The Sub-Committee will assess the research against the British Educational Research Association's *Revised Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research* (2004).

It is a requirement that prior to the commencement of all research that this form be completed and submitted to the Department's Research Ethics and Data Protection Sub-Committee. The Committee will be responsible for issuing certification that the research meets acceptable ethical standards and will, if necessary, require changes to the research methodology or reporting strategy.

A copy of the research proposal which details methods and reporting strategies must be attached and should be no longer than two typed A4 pages. In addition you should also attach any information and consent form (written in layperson's language) you plan to use. An example of a consent form is included at the end of the code of practice.

Please send the signed application form and proposal to the Secretary of the Ethics Advisory Committee (Sheena Smith, School of Education, tel. (0191) 334 8403, e-mail: Sheena.Smith@Durham.ac.uk). Returned applications must be either typed or word-processed and it would assist members if you could forward your form, once signed, to the Secretary as an e-mail attachment

Name: Sara Ganassin Course: PhD Education

Contact e-mail address: sara.ganassin@dur.ac.uk

Supervisor: Dr P.M. Holmes

Title of research project:

Questionnaire

		YES	NO	
1.	Does your research involve living human subjects?	X		IF NOT, GO TO DECLARATION AT END
2.	Does your research involve only the analysis of large, secondary and anonymised datasets?		X	IF YES, GO TO DECLARATION AT END
3a	Will you give your informants a written summary of your research and its uses?	X		If NO, please provide further details and go to 3b
3b	Will you give your informants a verbal summary of your research and its uses?	X		If NO, please provide further details
3c	Will you ask your informants to sign a consent form?	X		If NO, please provide further details
4.	Does your research involve covert surveillance (for example, participant observation)?		X	If YES, please provide further details.
5a	Will your information <i>automatically</i> be anonymised in your research?	X		If NO, please provide further details and go to 5b
5b	IF NO Will you explicitly give <i>all</i> your informants the right to remain anonymous?			If NO, why not?
6.	Will monitoring devices be used openly and only with the permission of informants?	X		If NO, why not?
7.	Will your informants be provided with a summary of your research findings?	X		If NO, why not?
8.	Will your research be available to informants and the general public without restrictions placed by sponsoring authorities?	X		If NO, please provide further details
9.	Have you considered the implications of your research intervention on your informants?	X		Please provide full details
10.	Are there any other ethical issues arising from your research?		X	If YES, please provide further details.

Further details

The study involves children within a school environment with related ethical issues.

In order to and make all participants comfortable and fully aware of what the research entails face-to-face discussion will be ensured with all concerned first. Different consent forms and information sheets will be distributed to adults and children and both adults and children will have to agree independently before I begin interviewing them.

In order to fully inform my participants and address different possible ethical issues I am intended to use:

- a consent form for the adults as participants (the same form for school staff and parents) which includes detailed information on the study including the research with children
- parental consent for the parents to allow me to work with their children
- school consent to get formal permission for me to collect data in the schools
- consent and information sheet for the children themselves

The theoretical foundation of my thesis assumes in fact children as
In my work subscribe a vision of children as competent social actors, informing the idea that a child-centred research design should be aimed at seeking information from rather than about the young participants. Therefore it is important for my study comprising forms specific aimed at them.

Continuation sheet YES/NO (delete as applicable)

Declaration

I have read the Department's Code of Practice on Research Ethics and believe that my research complies fully with its precepts. I will not deviate from the methodology or reporting strategy without further permission from the Department's Research Ethics Committee.

Signed Sara Ganassin

Date: 30.09.2012

Proposal discussed and agreed by supervisor (for students) or colleague (for staff):

Name Dr Prue M. Holmes

Date: 05.10.2012

SUBMISSIONS WITHOUT A COPY OF THE RESEARCH PROPOSAL WILL NOT BE CONSIDERED.

Appendix C: Consent and information form (pupils)

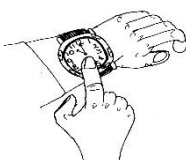
Project: Mandarin Chinese community schooling and pupils' identities in England

My name is Sara Ganassin and I am studying Education at Durham University. I am doing a project about children attending different Chinese Community Schools in England and I would like to know your point of view.

We will talk in a group with 6 to 7 other pupils about your experience at the Chinese Community School and what it means to you. I will not tell your teachers or your family what you say. Every pupil will be asked to do the same.

I will also ask you and the other children to do two drawing activities.

You can ask for the interview to stop at any time or drop out at any time. Each activity will take no longer than half an hour.



You can say yes or no. It is up to you whether you take part.



If you would like to talk to me, I would be very grateful if you could sign the attached form and return it to school.



If you would like to know more about the project, please ask your teacher or ask to contact me and we will give you all the information.

Thank you for taking the time to read this letter and for your help,

谢谢

Sara

Consent form

If I take part in Sara's project on Mandarin Chinese Community Schooling:

- I understand that the interview will be recorded.
- I understand that the interview will be private and my name won't appear anywhere
- I understand that my drawings can be published as part of the research work

- I understand that I can drop out from the interview and drawing activities at any time

If you understand the statements above, you now need to decide whether you would like to take part in the research.

I have decided that I would like to take part to Sara's research:

Please put a circle round No or Yes.



No



Yes

Signed.....

Please print your name.....

Please return this form to school as soon as possible



Appendix D: Consent form (adults)

Ethics consent-adult participants

TITLE OF PROJECT:

Mandarin Chinese community schooling and pupils' identities in England

(The participant should complete the whole of this sheet himself/herself)

*Please cross out
as necessary*

Have you read the Participant Information Sheet?

YES / NO

Have you had an opportunity to ask questions and to discuss the study?

YES / NO

Have you received satisfactory answers to all of your questions?

YES / NO

Have you received enough information about the study?

YES / NO

Who have you spoken to? Dr/Mr/Mrs/Ms/Prof.

Do you consent to participate in the study?

YES / NO

Do you consent to your voice being audio-recorded during the interview and to the use of the anonymised recordings for academic purposes after the end of the project?

YES / NO

Do you understand that you are free to withdraw from the study:

* at any time and

* without having to give a reason for withdrawing and

YES / NO

Signed

Date

(NAME IN BLOCK LETTERS)

Appendix E: Participant information sheet (adults)

Dear parent/school staff member,

My name is Sara Ganassin and after studying Chinese culture and language in Italy I lived for few years in China and Taiwan. As part of my PhD at Durham University I am undertaking a study looking at Mandarin Chinese Community Schooling in England and what it means from the perspectives of children and adults involved in such schools. The study has been approved by Durham University Ethics Advisory Committee. The title of my study is:

Mandarin Chinese community schooling in England: constructions of language culture and identity

In my study I will talk to a number of parents, teachers, principals and children attending different Mandarin Chinese Community Schools in England to get a variety of opinions. As my research involves both adults and young pupils, I am asking parents and school staff for their permission to work with the children, and then I will ask to the children for their agreement as well. Both adults and children have to agree independently before I can begin. I have enclosed a consent form for you/your child to be involved in my study and would appreciate it if you could sign it and return it to me if you decide to take part.

My study analyses how Chinese language, culture, and values are understood in the schools context. The study also looks at how community schooling supports the maintenance of Chinese identity and what a Chinese identity means to pupils and adults. The study will be conducted in the form of individual interviews with adult participants and each interview will last between 30' and 40' minutes. As my research focuses on children I will organise two group discussions (focus groups) with 6-7 children together. I will be there to ask the questions and moderate the conversations. I am also working with visual artefacts and before the interviews I will ask the children to draw a map and a storyboard cartoon to represent their experience at the community school.

All interviews will be recorded and transcribed and I will use them to write the findings of my thesis. No one will be named in my thesis. If you decide to take part in the study you have the right to:

- ✓ Refuse to take part to any particular question and to withdraw from the study at any time
- ✓ Ask any further question regarding my research and its usage
- ✓ Receive a copy of your transcript and delete any part of it
- ✓ Be provided of a summary of my research findings

My study will hopefully generate more knowledge and awareness of the role Mandarin Chinese community schooling has from the perspectives of those who are involved in them. Finally, my work looks at themes of Chinese language, culture and identity and it will hopefully contribute towards the literature on Chinese communities.

Thank you so much for taking the time to read through this and I hope you will decide to get involved. Your participation is very important for my study.

谢谢

Sara Ganassin

Appendix F: Research protocol (adults)

Before the interview:

I will inform the participant of the purposes of the study and give them a copy of the participant information sheet to read. The participant will be then given a chance to ask me any questions related to the interview and the overall study. I will explain what the interview will imply (number of questions, expected length and the fact that it will be audio recorded). Confidentiality and anonymity of the interview will be also discussed by me as researcher. The participant will be clarified that they are able not to respond to any questions they don't feel comfortable with and that they can withdrawn from the study at any time without having to give a reason. Any further questions will be discussed. Finally, I will ask the participant to sign two copies (one for me and one for them to keep) of the ethics consent form which gives their formal consensus to take part into the study.

I have developed two different set of questions for parents and school staff, some of them being different and considering their specific perspectives. Before starting I will ask my participants some background information, both useful to 'break the ice' and to contextualise their experience (see research protocols).

After the interview:

I will thank my participant for their time and contribution to the study and give them a small gift. I will explain to the participant that they are able to contact me to change or cross check anything they have included in the interviews, also re-reassuring them that names and identities they referred to will be anonymised. Finally, I will ask them if they would like to see my final work and being kept updated about any development of the study.

Parents

Introducing-names and provenience /some background of the family. How long have the family/the child/children lived in the UK for?

How many children have you got? How old are they? How many of them attend a Chinese community school? (Why? if appropriate)

How long have they/he/her attending the Chinese Community School? Have they been attending other language schools before?

- 1. Why do you want your child/children to attend the Chinese Community School?**
 - a. Was it you suggesting them to attend or they were interested first?
 - b. What do you want your children to achieve through the school?

2. **How important is attending the Chinese School for your child/your children? How important it is for you?**
 - a. How do they use languages (English, Chinese, other languages)? For what uses or purposes?
 - b. What language/s do you speak at home with your child/children? Do you feel they prefer expressing themselves in Chinese or English (other languages/dialects?)
 - c. What benefits do you think they get from attending the school?
 - d. What are the challenges?
3. **What does 'Chinese culture' mean to you (break down more)?**
(Related to the PRC or other Chinese speaking countries?)
4. **Do you think that your children have the same idea of Chinese culture as you have? How are their ideas different? How are they same?**
5. **Do you think that the school plays a part in making them feeling Chinese/their Chinese identity?**
6. **Do you generally think that the sense of being Chinese of the children attending the schools is different from their parents' generation? If so how? Do you think that your child feels the same?**
 - a. Do you think that being born overseas influence the way that the children feel Chinese?
 - b. Do you think that elderly members of your community look in a particular way at the new generation that is born/lives overseas?
 - c. Is this important to you? Does this influence your decision to send your child/children to the Chinese school?
7. **Is there anything else you would like to discuss?**

School Staff

Introducing-names and provenience

What is your role in the school? How long have you been volunteering here for?

- 1. Why do parents enrol their children into the Chinese School?**
- 2. Do you feel that the children are motivated to attend?**
 - a. What motivates them to attend?
 - b. How would describe their attitude towards the school? What do they like about the school?
 - c. What they don't like?
- 3. What about the families? Do you feel they motivate the children to attend? Why is it important for the families that their children attend a Chinese language school?**
- 4. What are your main goals as an educator?**
 - a. What do you want the students to achieve?
 - b. Is this the same as a) parents, b) children?
- 5. Do you think is important for the children to attend a Chinese community school? In what terms?**
- 6. The mission of the school refers to 'transmission of Chinese culture'. Can you explain to me a bit more about what this means?**
- 7. The mission statement of the school states the following aims (copy of their school mission statement given to participant to read):**
- 8. Are you aware of all these aims? What do you think of these aims in terms of developing a sense of being Chinese in the children?**
 - a. Do you think that the children think that these aims are important?
 - b. Why yes if so? Why not if so?
- 9. What does 'Chinese culture' mean to you?**

- a. Do the parents share this view?
- b. How is it same or different?

10. Do you think that the children have the same idea of Chinese culture as you have? How are their ideas different? How are they the same?

11. Do you think that the school plays a part in making them feeling Chinese/their Chinese identity?

12. Do you generally think that the sense of being Chinese of the children attending the schools is different from their parents' generation? In what ways are they similar? In what ways are they same?

- a. Do you think that being born overseas influence the way that the children feel Chinese?
- b. Do you think that elderly members of your community look in a particular way at the new generation that is born/lives overseas?
- c. Is this important to you?

13. Is there anything else you would like to discuss?

Appendix G: Focus group initial coding

Sample initial codes: FG1 (Apple Valley School)

Adult participants: Sara (S); Nala (N) (teacher)

Pupils: Bojing (B); Meili (M); Jinlin (J); Hongui (H);Dewei (D); Yang (Y)

Initial analysis coding:

Data extract	Coded for
<p><i>S: How old are you?</i> All: 15, 16, 17, 17 (in Chinese) <i>S: How long have you been here for?</i> B; D: 两年。 <Two years>(XXX). M: Less than one year. B: One year . S: I have heard that you speak Cantonese at home, is that correct? H: Nope</p> <p>N: maybe this classroom is not really worthy for you interviewing. <i>S: Every class is worthy interviewing. Do you all speak Chinese with your parents?</i> All: Yeah. <i>S: So if you could speak Chinese before coming to the school why do you come to the school?</i> M: I lived in the UK for the past there 4 years. Mandarin is my first language. [There is] no need to learn. We don't have a Chinese class [at the English school]. We need to pass one more GCSE. {All nod and laugh} B:不是我先。 < I don't want to be the first to speak> N: 那你说。听她怎么说。你是否同意她的观点。好吗? <It doesn't matter who is the first to speak, you guys can gossip a bit> (<i>bati yixiar</i>). Listen to what she said. Let him speak and then you say if you agree with her point of you, ok?)</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Introduction of participants (most of them in the UK for 1-2 years/Mandarin first language) 2. Teacher did not consider the class worthy to interview 3. Language practice (Mandarin first language at home) 4. School to pass GSCE not to learn Chinese. 5. Teacher helped to moderate

<p>B: 在这里交到新朋友, 锻炼自己胆色跟口语。在这里锻炼自己的写作, 可以写出更好的作品。在这里学到新英语单词。在这里上学感到不寂寞在这里学到新英语单词。 <I am here to make new friends. I am here to (<i>duanlian</i>-courage) challenge ourselves practicing within ourselves, improving my <i>zhuopin</i> (production quality of writing), my writing skills, I don't feel as lonely in the Chinese school></p> <p>H: Don't bother about the little details. <i>S: So for you the most important things for you are making friends, meeting friends, attending the classes.</i></p> <p>N: Improve their Chinese writing skills and to learn more English words. <i>S: So do you come to the school to learn English as well?</i></p> <p>J: Yeah, 你说中文吗。 <Do you speak Chinese?>. <i>S: Do you want to explain me a little be more about this?</i></p> <p>J: The classmates in Chinese school is normal, the English school is not normal just sometimes they are not normal, they are not Chinese. I don't know how to explain in English. <i>S: Is it because they are not Chinese?</i></p> <p>J: Yes, so I think that they are not normal, sometimes they are a bit mad, they do things that I don't understand. <i>S: I don't know if is the same thing for everyone that you prefer coming here because everyone is Chinese?</i></p> <p>N: 你是觉得来这里的学生都跟你有差不多背景的? <Do you come here because all the students have the same background as you?></p> <p>H: In the Chinese school (we) can learn English and also we can make friends 相交 <i>xiangjiao</i> with Western people who like the Chinese language.</p> <p>B: 就是来这里学一个科目。 <Exactly. [We] come here to study one subject>. N: They come here to learn one subject. There is no frustration because it's all</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. Cartoon ref. FG1.2 Motivation to attend the school (making new friends, challenge oneself, improve quality of writing, not feeling lonely) 7. Sara/Nala summarise motivations 8. Learning English at the Chinese school 9. Sara asks to explain the cartoon 10. Chinese classmates are normal vs English classmates (mainstream school) are not normal 11. Not being normal "doing things I don't understand" 12. Sara asks if students prefer the CCS as everyone is Chinese 13. Nala repeats the question in Chinese 14. Making friends with western people who like China 15. Coming to the school is good because there is no frustration
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<p>people from a similar background. <i>S: Because he was saying that in the other school [XXX].</i> N: 你们听一下。 <LISTEN> <i>S: They were saying that people behave differently in the other school a bit strangely. They say they are mad.</i> S: 你觉得你们是来这里 <Do you feel you come here> for what reason? I think that this one is interesting because it says that the English school is not interesting and it's quite boring and teachers are horrible, do you want to say anything?</p> <p>J: 没关系，英文学校，太多了，很多压力，考试很难。 <Never mind, in the English school it's too much, a lot of pressure, the lessons are very difficult>.</p> <p><i>S: So do you feel that this school is more difficult?</i></p> <p>N: This school you mean Chinese school? J: 老师你也说英文吗? <Teacher do you also speak English?></p> <p><i>S: Do you think that is more difficult because you do everything in English or because what they do is more difficult?</i> T: Do you think that it would better for you to come back next week for your interviews? <i>S: Yes, if they want, I can come back when they have their class.</i></p> <p>{background noise} N: oh, she is ready.</p> <p>M: Chinese school there is just few subjects that we can choose and we stay here just one class. Here we are a lot of people all from the same culture so we can speak more things. In English schools there are more subjects that we can choose like cooking and nice classes because the teachers like 装饰 <i>zhuangshi</i>? 什么说? N: 装饰什么说? S: 装饰是大家都喜欢的东西。 <</p>	<p>Use of language (flexible Chinese and English)</p> <p>16. Dislike for English school (see cartoon of Dewei)</p> <p>17. A lot of pressure in the English school (dislike for English school)</p> <p>18. Sara asks which school is the most difficult</p> <p>19. Nala asks Sara if she wants to come back the following week</p> <p>20. English school has more activities vs Chinese school has less subjects but allows more communication as it's all people from the same background</p>
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<p><i>zhuangshi</i> is something everybody likes> N: Ok like nice classroom decorations, put people in the right mood for learning. M: Like with children. <i>S: Why do you come here? Because you can speak Chinese already, you can write and read in Chinese.</i> M: One reason is that I need to do the Chinese GSCE. The second reason is make friends for Chinese people.</p> <p><i>S: Is making Chinese friends important for you?</i> M: Yes, nothing goes wrong here, because in English school English is a big problem for me, maybe I can't understand, so maybe Chinese school is more better than the other school, I think that the teachers are also very nice. In the Chinese school because we have Chinese New Year we do many interesting things and we know many cultural things for Chinese. <i>S: Although you lived in China for many years you still feel that is important coming years and learning the culture?</i> M: Yes, so we can visit the museum. They have many Chinese cultures, we can play Chinese chess and international chess, how they are different. <i>S: So do you think that if this school wouldn't exist it would be difficult for you as you don't live in China anymore?</i> M: We can continue study in Chinese like how to write and this is important because in the future we can get many good jobs if we can speak Chinese and English. <i>S: Is it just about getting a better job or is it also about yourself?</i> M: Also about myself. <i>S: Do you want to go back to China?</i> J: What do you mean? B: I think I want to stay here. {All laugh} Y: Hard question. M: You can't forget the Chinese [language] but if we don't have a Chinese class we can forget the Chinese culture.</p>	<p>21. Use of language-multilingualism</p> <p>22. English school provides a good atmosphere for learning</p> <p>23. Researcher asked who wants pupils to attend</p> <p>24. M describes motivation to attend the school: GSCE, making Chinese friends.</p> <p>25. Discussed importance of having Chinese friends</p> <p>26. Chinese school is 'better' because students can understand more</p> <p>27. teachers are nice</p> <p>28. learning cultural things about China</p> <p>29. Discussed if attending the school is important to retain Chinese heritage even for students that just moved to the UK (teaching of culture)</p> <p>30. Importance of continuing to study Chinese+ learning English to get better employment perspectives in the future</p> <p>31. Employment vs identity</p>
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<p><i>S: Do you mind if I make a note? Oh, I need another pen.</i></p> <p>G: There you go.</p> <p><i>S: Where is your family from in China? Are you from Guangdong?</i></p> <p>M: No, [region].</p> <p><i>S: [City]?</i></p> <p>G: Yes, [city], have you been?</p> <p><i>S: I have been to[city], that's the only city where I have been in [region].</i></p> <p>M: Why do you wanted to see the China?</p> <p><i>S: Me? {pauses} I watched a movie when I was a child and I really liked it so I thought when I grow up I want to live in China. To speak Chinese, so I lived in the Dongbei a little bit, then I lived in Taiwan and in Guangdong and then I came here because I got a job here but I still wanted to do a project about China.</i></p> <p>M: Do you still speak Chinese?</p> <p>I used to be quite good, I still understand a lot but you know 中文很难说<It's difficult to speak>.</p> <p>{Both laugh}</p> <p>M: It's difficult for foreigners.</p> <p><i>S: 当然是<Indeed>.Thank you very much, is that anything that you want to add.</i></p> <p>G: No, no.</p> <p>{She speaks with Honghui}.</p> <p>H: In English school you can choose different subjects, they all speak English and students sit around tables so it's easy to talk to each other. In Chinese school there are few people and mostly people born in China, that's only two hours a week.</p> <p><i>S: Do you think that is good or bad the fact that everyone was born in China?</i></p> <p>H: It's bad because most of people speak Chinese. You cannot improve our English</p> <p><i>Sara: So you also come here to improve your English?</i></p> <p>D: Yeah and people speak Chinese and English. More time [sometimes] they speak English and more time [sometimes]they speak Chinese and I can make new friends. It's good coming here and making new Chinese friends because in the English school I am bored</p>	<p>32. Culture needs to be nurtured and retained, identity is embedded</p> <p>33. Culture needs to be nurtured to be retained</p> <p>34. Family background of the student</p> <p>35. M gets interested in Sara's experience of life in China (reflexivity)</p> <p>36. Student asks researcher question about her life in China/interest for China</p> <p>37. H speaks about his cartoon: describes English school vs Chinese school</p> <p>38. Commented that it's bad in Chinese school that everyone speaks Chinese as you cannot improve your English</p> <p>39. Chinese school is good to make new friends</p> <p>40. Boredom at the English school because there is not a lot of communication</p>
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<p>and lonely. [As we are] Chinese people we can talk [to] each other and know how to learn English.</p> <p><i>S: And do you think that is good or bad the fact that everyone was born in China?</i></p> <p>H: It's bad because most of people speak Chinese, you cannot improve our English.</p> <p><i>S: So you also come here to improve your English?</i></p> <p>D: Yeah and people speak Chinese and English. Some time they speak English and some time they speak Chinese.</p> <p><i>S: Your English is very good.</i></p> <p>D: And same the teacher is nice. [By] coming to this school we can have greater results and less homework to do. In China we have a lot of homework to do.</p> <p>M: In the English school people like the group work but in China you have to do things by yourself</p> <p>H: And do you think that is good having a change?</p> <p>G: I think group is more good because people can share ideas to other people. Sometimes to do yourself is more good</p> <p><i>S: {Looks at the cartoon of Y} oh let's see?</i></p> <p>Y: Here we have Chinese New Year it's an important day and some people play <i>guzheng</i> and some people dance Chinese dancing and singing. I have to work with my Chinese friends to make people happy and at the end we can sing Chinese music and we can feel that we are part of China.</p> <p><i>S: So do you think that the school is important to connect with China?</i></p> <p>Y: Yeah, coming here I can make more friends it's easier in here and at the end we also eat Chinese food.</p> <p>R: Do you ever do things with the younger children in the school, all together? (repeats question)</p> <p>G B4: No</p> <p><i>S: Do you think that it would be good</i></p>	<p>41. Importance of learning English with other Chinese people</p> <p>42. B3 comments that the Chinese teacher is nice/more results with less workload</p> <p>43. Importance of Chinese school to learn English</p> <p>44. Students discuss how more group work is a good thing in England vs China.</p> <p>45. Importance of sharing ideas</p> <p>46. Importance of festivals and feeling Chinese by taking part in cultural activities</p> <p>47. Y states the importance of making friends at the school and eating Chinese food</p> <p>48. Sense of cultural belonging through action-celebrating festivals</p>
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<p><i>doing that?</i> G: No, I cannot say in English {they whisper in Chinese.} We don't think in the same way S: And are all the performances important? Y: Yes because we can learn team work and more experience with other people because you can prove yourself. <i>S: Thank you very much, so is it for you coming to the school? {Talks to Dewei}.</i> D: Yeah. <i>S: What is the main reason?</i> D: I want to have GCSE Chinese. S: Why do you want to have GCSE Chinese? D: You need to increase your GSCE and it's second language so it's more difficult to get that. You can get Chinese so you just have four [left]. <i>S: So you get an extra qualification.</i></p> <p>M: You don't need to study Chinese [language] but you could forget Chinese culture. <i>S: So it's not so bad if I forgot myself although I studied {all laugh}. Thank you so much for taking part, I am going to write this up at some point and let you know, it was great. Would you like some chocolate?</i> J: Oh no thank you, I don't like sweets. Do you want to try some of this? 什么说? <How to say it?> Can YOU eat it? S: Dried beef? 不要吃, 谢谢。<I don't want to eat it, thank you. Not today. {Both laugh} J: We eat different things. Thank you for giving [us] the chocolate.</p>	<p>49. Lack of engagement with younger children in the school</p> <p>50. Frustration of not being able to express something in English</p> <p>51. Performances are important to get team work skills and prove yourself</p> <p>52. D states that is important coming to the school to get GCSE/extra qualification</p> <p>53. D explains his need for GCSE exams</p> <p>54. M states that you although they don't need to study Chinese they could still forget the culture.</p> <p>55. Closing statements-offering chocolate vs dried beef</p>
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Appendix H: Teacher interview initial coding with notes

Sample of teacher interview initial codes: Nala (Apple Valley School)

Data extract	Coded for
<p>N:I will try to shout loud.</p> <p><i>S: From a teacher's perspectives why do parents enrol children into the Chinese school?</i></p> <p>N: I think that parents enrol children into the Chinese school for quite few different reasons. Like me I've been teaching Chinese for quite few years. Infant class I think that the parents think that for the children is good to learn Chinese because they all got the relatives, you know grandparents, that cannot speak English and if they are not able to speak Chinese it would be a big barrier of communication between the generations and</p>	<p>Different reasons that parents have to enrol their kids at the school (RQ1):</p> <p>1) Communicating with relatives, overcoming barriers to communication.</p>
<p>second everybody thinks that Chinese language is important. It is good for children future.</p>	<p>2) Chinese language as capital for the future. (RQ1)</p>
<p>some parents and also some [think] that to be from Chinese background if you are not able to speak your own language there is something missing and by speaking the language we do reconstruct our own identity. It doesn't matter how long you have been far away from China, how long you have been outside China, even if some of the children they are born in England they think is that you (they) are still Chinese because of your (their) special relationship with China because they got relatives there, they just cannot be out of China</p>	<p>3) Chinese language proficiency connected to Chinese identity construction. (RQ4)</p>
<p>you know in Chinese culture also I think that a lot of parents look at Chinese school as a sort of platform with the community for the children to interact with a lot of children and between the parents and their social life as well.</p>	<p>4) CCS as a platform for children/adults to be part of the community/engaging with other Chinese people.</p>
<p>I think that a lot of parents feel that as new immigrants they feel lost and lonely. They cannot completely integrate into the society here. Because of the different</p>	<p>5) CCS as a space for adults to engage with other migrants/overcome isolation.</p>

life and experience sometimes people look for some likeminded people gathering together and share some life experiences. Share life tips sometimes even.	(RQ1)
I teach children at two different schools, one is in[city], the time I teaching there I started teaching for the adults group and then when my daughter is old enough to start learning Chinese thought 'oh I am going to start to teach my daughter so I am going to teach the infant class and then I still feel better to teach to secondary school children, so there was not GCSE teacher available and I went for that.	She discusses her job experience as teacher.
<p><i>S: Do you think that the children are motivated to attend?</i></p> <p>N: I think that at the beginning a lot of children don't really want to be there but gradually it turns to be a part of their routine going to Chinese school. So I don't think that they enjoy very much but when it's started gradually they develop some friendships there and then sometimes the friendship between the children motivate them to go.</p>	Children and attendance: they are not particularly happy but enjoy being with friends.
<p><i>S: And do you think that the families motivate them to attend?</i></p> <p>N: Yeah, quite a few parents share their thoughts, some parents, even me, bribe the children "if you are good at Chinese school you can go to [fast food name]". So sometimes we do try to bribe and all sort of things to send them there.</p>	Children and attendance: parents 'push' and 'bribe' children.
<p><i>S: In terms of your goals as educator, what do you want to achieve?</i></p> <p>N: Like to me I always think that if Chinese community school is just about language teaching is not good enough and also is not our purpose. In Chinese school we try to create this kind of feeling of community and of course language learning is very important but through language learning we want to maintain our culture and customs.</p>	She discusses her goals as educator: CCS is not just about language teaching but about 1) Sense of community and maintaining our culture and customs. (RQ3)
You see when it's some special festival	Learning culture through

time Chinese school always try to organise something to celebrate something for this special events but I believe that children can learn our culture and this kind of things sometimes you don't need to teach them or tell them too much you just need to show them and then they learn the culture thing from experience.	experience (festivals)=cultural symbols? (see Holliday 2010b) (RQ3)
yeah the language is practical. Now I am teaching GCSE and all the pupils got Chinese GCSE A*so it puts them in a good position to apply for sixth form college and beyond. Loads of the children feel good especially if they are not born here they have difficulties in achieving in other subjects but Chinese is always guaranteed to make them feel good.	Learning language as a way for children (non UK-born) to feel good about themselves also in mainstream schooling (RQ2-4)
<p><i>S: Do you think that it's important for them to attend the school?</i></p> <p>N:I think so. Attending school regularly is important for you to keep the learning path and also if you are out of school for too long you lose contacts with your Chinese school mates this is good to have their friendship.</p>	<p>Attending CCS is good for kids to keep up their learning path.</p> <p>Keeping in touch with Chinese friends.</p>
<p><i>S:Do they tend to stay in Chinese school?</i></p> <p>N: No you see it's different if you can join in at the age of 5 and gradually grow up with Chinese school is great but a lot of Chinese kids now join in Chinese school half-way and we just try to assess which class is good for them to join.</p>	Children join school both at 5 years old and half-way during the year.
<p><i>S: So they are not necessarily grouped by age but by ability?</i></p> <p>N: Yes, by ability mostly, the thing is right now in DCS is similar age and similar level because they are from the same backgrounds, they are all born here. We do have some children of 8 or 9 years old who have just arrived to England and they have some brilliant language skills and they skip even two classes, what they learn there is even too simple for this type of children, a lot of children still attend but...</p>	Children are grouped by ability rather than by age. Issues with children moving from China and already proficient.

<p><i>S: So what do you do in that case?</i></p> <p>I think just do some differentiation in the teaching , sometimes we do have this kind of problem. I had two children that didn't come back this term. Probably if they feel that they don't learn it demotivates them and parents feel it's not worthwhile for them to go.</p> <p><i>N: Is it the parents or the children that decide to drop out?</i></p> <p>S: Sometimes if they don't feel that they learn the children tell the parents "oh I didn't learn much, or I know more than the teacher". So the parents would think: "or is it worthwhile for me sending them?". But then you need to take into consideration that loads of parents do this type of catering business, which takes up a lot of time. So they dedicate the Sunday to take the children there for 4-5 hours and then they think: "is it worth it?".</p>	<p>Differentiation in teaching within the same class to accommodate different levels .</p> <p>Children might drop out if they feel they don't learn.</p> <p>Parents motivation to send their children to CCS depends also on their occupation/personal commitments .</p>
<p>N: People are like that, if they get what they want they wouldn't do it again. As I said friendship is very important, once that you start there you make your friends you build up personal relationships. You might contact them not just in Chinese school but you also might personally contact them and you feel you built up a platform useful to you and you don't need the school anymore. you think: "oh it's just a waste of time".</p>	<p>Importance of making friends to be in touch with also outside the school. However people might lose interest in the school once they secured a network of friends.</p>
<p><i>S: The mission of the school refers to "transmission of Chinese culture".</i></p> <p>N: Sure it's language learning but through language learning children can learn stuff about history. They [school] always organise things about Chinese culture like celebration of Chinese festivals. Also when Chinese people are together they share the same values.</p>	<p>Discusses how she understands the cultural agenda. Through language learning at school also learning about culture and history through experiential activities. Sharing the same values with other Chinese people at the school.</p> <p>Teaching practices (teaching of culture)</p>
<p>Also the come together with other British children. They play together but the call the mothers by name. In Chinese school you notice that rarely children call their parents by name. Just respecting them</p>	<p>Discusses respect and relationship with parents of British children vs Chinese children</p>

<p>calling them “Dad, mum”. That is just another thing you might never notice but it’s there.</p>	
<p><i>S: Is it something important for the way you teach to your own children?</i></p> <p>N: Yes, I do, through language learning they learn certain worlds and then they start learning about the background of the word. We do have a lot of words related to historical stories and though these stories we try to teach children.</p> <p><i>S: Like through 成语 chengyu?</i></p> <p>N: Yeah, but also 故事 gushi <stories>. Good you know 成语故事 chengyu gushi. {she laughs}</p> <p><i>S: Like the one of the frog at the bottom of the well?</i></p> <p>N: Yes, like the one of the frog looking for the mum taught by the teacher of the infant class. But if I am going to teach my students I am going to say “look in Chinese culture we respect the elders” and also I expand a little bit saying that for Chinese <i>jia</i> 家 <family> and <i>guo</i> 国 <country> we respect the family and then we respect the country is another way for the children to establish their identity.</p>	<p>Language teaching and stories as a way for the children to learn Chinese values and shape their identity.</p> <p>(Teaching practices within the school) RQ4</p>
<p><i>S: I have copied here the mission statement of the school for you to have a look</i></p> <p>N: Ok {she reads the school mission} they even use the word “Chinese as target language” It’s really school policies. there are instructions that teaching should be in Chinese rather than in English but in our school even the teachers they re-adapt themselves the policies.</p> <p><i>S: So they use the language in a more convenient way?</i></p> <p>N: Yes, they do and it’s not just Chinese as heritage language. There is also few people that learn Chinese as foreign language so there is really this situation. It would be better if Chinese school would get people to speak only Chinese</p>	<p>Discussing the school mission: Chinese is mentioned as target and heritage language and the teaching is not supposed to be in English.</p> <p>In reality there is a mismatch of policies and practices as the reality is more complex (i.e. Chinese is also thought as foreign language).</p> <p>She argues that it would better using Chinese only for the teaching but is not possible as some of the students are not Chinese or they don’t have a good level.</p> <p>(school practices, teaching of language RQ3)</p>

<p>from the start really.</p> <p><i>S: Well, you couldn't really do it. Could you? Maybe in your class?</i></p> <p>N: Yes in my class, as everybody is from China I can do it.</p> <p><i>S: What about the nursery class?</i></p> <p>N: I argued about that. I said "to me it would be better just to do that, using Mandarin only and even if the kids don't understand few things then with time they will as this is very relevant". It should be 3 hours purely of Chinese language to get better learning chances.</p> <p><i>S: And do you think that the parents should do the same at home?</i></p> <p>N: I think so, just look at families similar to mine, if one parent, father or mum is Chinese, only talk to children in Chinese they do have better language skills. You can even see the difference with the families where the parents are Chinese so it's the family language and their children seems to have much better language skills than the mixed families. There are some families of asylum seekers and the both the parents don't speak English so their children speak a good Chinese in England even if they don't do much socialising.</p> <p><i>S: Do they speak a good English as well?</i></p> <p>N: Yes, when they start school they do, but they also use technology in Chinese. Like i-pad programmes for their children they are in Chinese, so the environment, the input is much more important for Chinese language learning. It's what I do with my daughter. She watches Chinese children programmes all the time. You would achieve better and learn a language if you have the correct inputs.</p>	<p>Importance of giving input at home for the children to learn Chinese/exposing children to different stimuli in Chinese :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Parents speaking Chinese only to the kids ✓ Use of technology in Chinese ✓ Exposure to Chinese media <p>CHL Theory, He (2008)</p>
<p><i>S: So you never brought your daughter to China for long periods?</i></p> <p>N: I did when she was before 3 years old, before she started education every year</p>	<p>Exemplifies how in her own family a consistent use of Chinese since a young age helped her daughter to develop language skills.</p>

<p>we spend 3 months in China, when my daughter started to talk her first sentence was in Chinese.</p> <p><i>S: What did she say?</i></p> <p>N: She said “炒饭炒饭我在炒饭, <i>chao fan chao fan, wo zai chao fan</i> <cooking cooking. I am cooking.>”. So my husband used to come home only at the week end and we used to speak Chinese all week.</p>	
<p><i>S: I noticed that when I start to take her out to this community centre with other children in a toddler play group she started turning to be. She got a lot of friends in the toddler group and everyone spoke English so she started being not so keen in speaking Chinese...but the first sentence was “炒饭我炒饭了 <i>chao fan, wo chao fan le</i> <cooking, I cooked>”. So it was in Chinese.</i></p>	<p>Recalls that her daughter was less keen on speaking Chinese when she started attending nursery.</p>
<p><i>S: Does she ever ask you to go to China?</i></p> <p>N: She is always happy to go to China because I can spend more time with her, we go to see so many friends, she is exceptionally welcomed by my relatives and friends, in China because I live in [town]. It's a town, a city so different from [British town]. She always says “China is so much better”. She can buy all these DVDs.</p>	<p>Speaks about her daughter and how much she likes China.</p>
<p><i>S: I have some pictures of [Chinese town] in my phone.</i></p> <p>N: Oh yeah, how long have you been there?</p> <p><i>S: Seven months.</i></p> <p>N: Oh seven months. {Looks at the pictures}. This is [place] and the big book. It looks like you stayed in the city only.</p> <p><i>S: No, we went to [town] as well.</i></p> <p>N: Have you been to [neighbourhood]?</p> <p><i>S: Yes, my friend used to teach there.</i></p> <p>N: I lived there.</p>	<p>They discuss about [Chinese town] looking at some pictures.</p>

<p><i>S: She used to teach in the University of [name].</i></p> <p>N: My neighbour used to teach in there. He has this 老师 <i>laoshi</i> <teacher> job. In the summer it's nice.</p> <p><i>S: It is.</i></p> <p>N: Really, you have been visiting a lot! {Looking at the pictures} this is [place]. You have two ways of going to [place]. One is through [place] and the coastline.</p> <p><i>S: This is [city].</i> {points at a picture}</p> <p>N: Nice, I have been working in Russia for a bit.</p> <p>{Sara restarts the microphone}</p>	
<p>N: Actually before I joined this language school I thought that every language teacher has their own philosophy. Before joining the Chinese community school I have been teaching Chinese in different sector, I believe that every language teacher has their own philosophy, you know, why you want to teach Chinese. For me I started to teach for the local British people in higher education. Then I started to teach in the Chinese community school. I just feel I want my culture to be recognised and I want my language to be recognised not just by our own children but also by the local people.</p>	<p>Discusses one's motivation to be a Chinese language teacher: cultural pride and recognition RQ3-4</p>
<p><i>S: Do you think that you can have one sense of Chinese culture or you can have different ones?</i></p> <p>N: Well you learn Chinese yourself before, China is a very vast country. Even in the Chinese school you notice that parents and children from the same area like Cantonese speakers sit together.</p> <p><i>S: They don't necessarily speak Mandarin.</i></p> <p>N: Exactly. That's very important some people don't have the language skills to communicate with others. If you speak with them in Mandarin they wouldn't understand. They wouldn't be able to take part in a conversation. So of</p>	<p>Discussion about culture.</p> <p>Nala explains how, in the school, people tend to stay with other people who speak the same language.</p> <p>Discussion of Chinese language and other <i>fangyan</i>-RQ2.</p> <p>She empathises how Mandarin is not necessarily spoken by the families (see literature-schools for HL speakers)</p>

<p>course people would talk with somebody else that they understand and that can be part of the conversation. People want to talk to each other effectively.</p>	
<p><i>S: Why do Cantonese speaking parents enrol their children?</i></p> <p>N: I think, I can share a story with you, in my GCSE class, there is this girl. The parents are from Hong Kong, Cantonese is their family language. The speaks perfect Cantonese and she learnt Chinese culture starting from Cantonese learning. But then the parents ask her to start learning Mandarin and she said her parents thinks Mandarin is more important now. She wants to learn Mandarin, as it's more important in the future.</p> <p><i>S: Does she think that it's more important as well?</i></p> <p>N: I think that she is a quite obedient girl, she will do whatever the parents say, if the parents say to learn it, she would do it.</p>	<p>Discusses why non Mandarin speakers enrol their children into the school.</p> <p>Role of Mandarin as capital (economic?)</p> <p>Points how children are not involved in their parents' educational choices</p>
<p><i>S: In terms of these (school's aims) do you think that they are useful in terms of developing a sense of being Chinese in the children?</i></p> <p>N: You mean the aims and mission statement of the school? The funny thing is, if you think we are trying to but we cannot just say "you are Chinese". They are not and they are unique, they are the generation of children going to combine both sides of culture of course including both sides of language as well, it's definitely not the same group of children like the one who are up in China. They are definitely not the same.</p>	<p>Discusses about how the school works to instil a sense of Chinese identity</p> <p>Identity as unique (RQ4)</p>

<p><i>S: What's your idea of Chinese culture?</i></p> <p>N: As I personal thing. I think that Chinese culture it's real value to the world is that Chinese people is not aggressive in terms of culture. I think that is the product of Confucius culture. It is about trying to balance between all sort of things and trying to find the harmony. Chinese people are very modest. I think that modesty is very important and needs to be taught. The character is very important. If everybody would be modest nobody would be so aggressive.</p> <p><i>S: Is anything else important?</i></p> <p>N: It's a difficult question. I need sometimes to reflect. Your research questions are very hard.</p>	<p>Describes her own understanding of Chinese culture and its value in terms of modesty (cultural markers)</p>
<p><i>S: Do you think that children in the school have similar ideas of Chinese culture?</i></p> <p>N: The children ideas of Chinese culture does not just depend on the Chinese school. Also the influence from their families is important too. The families get involved in activities organised by Chinese school. So we do promote Chinese culture together. So hopefully children can get it but I think it depends on individual children, you see that some children welcome this kind of things but you see some children they don't make much effort. For example yesterday is Chinese New Year party. Some children just stand there in front of the audience. You see that they are shy but they didn't make any kind of voice. But in their mainstream education they have to do presentations and these kind of things. They are shy to do the presentation in front of the English teachers and the English students in mainstream school. But in Chinese school I think that even if their Chinese language skills are good they affect their confidence to really produce or present the show.</p>	<p>Children develop their ideas of Chinese culture not just from what they learn at school but also according to the parents' input and their own efforts. (RQ3)</p> <p>Promoting Chinese culture as a community. (R3)</p>

<p><i>S: In what ways you think that they think of Chinese culture. Before you mentioned behaviour, values, philosophy and history. What do you think that Chinese culture means to them?</i></p> <p>N: Chinese culture means to them something that they know about China “I know a little bit more about China than my peers”. I think that most children think that. But if you really ask them I don’t think. I don’t know if they know. You’d better ask this question to the children, see what they say, but to me I never tried to ask but what I tried to do is to tell them “this is what Chinese people do and the leave them to think what local people do”. Then [they] do the comparison by themselves and everybody would come up with different things.</p>	<p>Teaching children what Chinese culture/identity imply by example and letting them to compare Chinese vs local people and form their own opinion.</p>
<p><i>S: What type of things are they curious about when you speak about China or Chinese culture?</i></p> <p>N: Curious about. They do. They are very curious about history. But sometime they laugh about the fact that loads of Chinese things are not fact proved but they are like mystery. They do laugh about that. So for instance if you talk about the Chinese zodiac they are incredulous.</p> <p>When I explained to them that Chinese people believe that Heaven has nine layers and the man in charge is the Jade emperor she just laughed saying “how did you know that is nine layers”. I think that sometimes is just difficult for children to accept these nine layers. I don’t know why. When I was brought up your mum or grandma tell you these kind of stories you believe them. They you grow up and think maybe is not there but still is a beautiful memory.</p>	<p>Children are curious about Chinese culture but do not accept ‘mysterious’ facts/legends etc</p> <p>How do pupils receive teaching around Chinese culture? (check with pupils’ data)</p> <p>Pupils are curious</p> <p>They laugh/they are incredulous</p> <p>Teaching of culture. (Classroom ecologies)</p>
<p><i>S: Do you think that for Chinese children in China is the same?</i></p> <p>N: No, today for Chinese children in China is the same, China is changing too.</p>	<p>Nowadays children in China have a different attitude too.</p>

<p><i>S: We kind of cover this already but do you think that the children have the same sense of being Chinese of their parents?</i></p> <p>N: Definitely not but you can tell the influence from outside. If their parents are like that, like me, they were born there and got educated, then you get really mature and they decide to immigrate to these country. But for them they were born in this country they spent most of their time in this environment. Their knowledge of China and Chinese culture isn't same learning environment as their parents.</p>	<p>Discusses how children develop a sense of identity according to the environment they live in beyond the school.</p> <p>How people develop a sense of Chinese culture depends on where they are brought up.</p>
<p><i>S: So do you think that there are other things other than the learning environment? What if you compare them to children or young people in China of a similar age, do you think that they are quite different or similar?</i></p> <p>N: I think that children all have similarities because at a certain age you are full of curiosity towards the outside world but what is your outside world would shape up your ideas and your values about life. So in China Chinese children are not in the kind of situation of Chinese children here. They don't have to deal with these kind of cultural conflict of different cultures everyday like children here, they don't have to deal with cultural conflict.</p>	<p>Discusses similarities and differences between Chinese children in China and Chinese children in the UK.</p> <p>In China children are not exposed to cultural conflicts/different cultures vs Chinese children in the UK.</p> <p>Discussing how being in Europe and facing cultural conflict impacts on their identities (RQ4)</p>
<p>But Chinese families here speak Chinese as family language but they have several issues in thinking in a Chinese way, when they go to school, when they interact in the society here for them it's like two things, one minute when they are at home they need to switch over to this kind of thinking. They have like two circles. Chinese culture one circle and English culture the other circle. Both circle expand bigger and bigger and they join together. Children in China don't have this two circles joining together and children here in the local schools they don't have this joint culture thing.</p>	<p>Impact on culture and life in the UK on the pupils' identities (RQ4)</p> <p>Describes of the experience of learning for Chinese children in the UK is inherently intercultural.</p>

<p>So our children. I mean second generation children attending Chinese school, their perception of reality is joint together. Hopefully would give them an advantage. It's kind of intercultural understanding ability.</p>	
<p><i>S: So do you think that this plays a role in their construction of identity, the community school?</i></p> <p>N: Yes, as I said before it offers a platform for them to find their friends and though this kind of interaction between family and friends then you get more chance to do Chinese things. If your only stay at home their views on Chinese culture would be a little bit restricted limited inside their family but when you start interacting with other Chinese background families you doing some similar things and then you enforce knowledge of the culture. I hope that it makes sense. {Nala draws a Venn diagram with Chinese culture and English culture}</p>	<p>Acknowledges that CCS is important for the children's identities.</p> <p>CCS as Chinese environment are important for kids to broaden their understanding of Chinese culture.</p> <p>According to teachers CCS is important for the children's identity as it offers a platform for them to make friends with other Chinese people.(RQ4)</p>
<p><i>S: It does, do you think that people in China look at them in a different way?</i></p> <p>N: Oh definitely, definitely different because you know what when they are back to China they cannot speak a Chinese as good as their relatives or children and they find a little bit difficult understanding their relatives talking, but I think that most Chinese children here they all go back to China regularly like once a year, some parents even send their children to China to be with their grandparents for family reunion but it's also good for the children to develop their language skills. Parents support this idea if they can afford it, obviously going back to China is costly so if you can afford it the parent like to doing it.</p>	<p>People in consider UK born Chinese children different because they are not proficient Chinese speakers.</p> <p>Link between identity and language competence.</p>
<p>I think that Chinese children in England that go to visit their relatives there are really curious about these experience, it's very relevant for them. The Chinese children in China don't have this kind of experience.</p>	<p>Thinks that going to China for UK based Chinese children is a positive experience.</p>

<p><i>S: So what is this area in the middle? (points at Venn diagram)</i></p> <p>N: This area in the middle? Their experience in the UK society so children in China don't have this experience. I mean not only for the short term and Chinese children in Britain experience both English and Chinese culture and constructing this experience would help them to develop their own idea of Chinese culture and identity.</p> <p>To me I believe that this might help you to understand better what the children experience. Of course it depends on individual children, some children are capable to learn a lot and the circle would be bigger, they have even bigger chances to extend this middle part so it depends on individual children.</p> <p><i>S: Actually one of the methods that I am using with the children it's a Venn diagram.</i></p> <p>N: I think that it's the best way to explain, everybody tries to construct their identity, I think that identity depends on the things that you learn, from the place where you live, from the people around you. They all have a big effect and influence on you. Even when there is a similar input, though their own mind it might be different.</p> <p><i>S: I finished the questions. Is there anything else that you would like to share?</i></p> <p>N: I will think about it and let you know. 谢谢 <i>xiexie</i> <thank you>.</p>	<p>Chinese children in the UK experience both English and Chinese culture and despite the challenge of cultural conflict the experience help them to develop their own idea of Chinese culture.</p> <p>Discusses her own conceptualisation of identity as in becoming, complex and subjective.</p> <p>RQ5</p>
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Appendix I: Sample of research field notes

27.09.2014 APPLE JAWAY

It was sufficient to engage certain students, although they said they were interested in taking part and supporting the study. (PN)

Dronings tasks were useful for students to think things through and to focus on different points. (MN)

Relationship with Teacher was very important to convince the students to take part into the study - the fact that the teacher was so supportive of the study was also important to engage other students. (PN)

ON - CROSS TASK

19.05.2014 A.V.

Pupils have been asked to translate and comment a text on robots. Louis asks for help from Jenny who has a better command of Mandarin.

Louis: 我不知道中文怎么说: "how do Chinese make robots?"

Jenny: OK, 中国人怎么做 robot, robot 是什么?

Erica joins the conversation: I think it's QI JI REN (check characters) or something like that - 我想不起来.

Erica realised she mixed up the characters and states how she created a new word (QI JI REN for JI QI REN)

cfr. for Translanguaging (Li & Garcia, 2014)

Appendix J: Sample of coding

1) Official perspectives of the schools (cultural agenda)

Theme	Category	Data
Culture	Relationship between language and culture	<p>The school's objects are to provide education in Chinese language (Mandarin in modern simplified written form) and Chinese culture to both children and adults. (Governing documents, AVS)</p> <p>The aims of the Deer River Mandarin Chinese School are to advance the education of Chinese culture and language to the public and the local community. (Website, DRS)</p> <p>-----</p>
	Objectification of culture (traditional and contemporary; culture can be taught)	<p>Apple Valley School is one of the most successful supplementary schools in the UK with outstanding successes in educating children in Chinese language and culture and achieving outstanding results in nationally recognised examinations. (Website, AVS)</p> <p>The school also equally emphasises the importance of traditional and contemporary Chinese cultures, so that the pupils have a better understanding of the language, and how and why it is used. (Governing documents DRS)</p>
	Sub-categories	
	1) formal teaching-role of textbooks	<p>We cannot decide what to teach. We have a curriculum and textbooks. 中文 <i>Zhongwen</i>, is the one from the Jinan University in China. Jinan University is in Guangdong province and they have a robust programme to develop teaching materials for Chinese. Originally they were for overseas Cantonese</p>

		<p>speakers because they are so close [to Guandong].</p> <p>They [textbooks] are for overseas Chinese, it's not ideal but so far is the best. We haven't found anything better yet but we are still learning.</p> <p>(head teacher, DRS)</p> <p>They [textbooks] deal with culture and science in the context of practical life, literary stories, natural scientific papers, traditional idioms and the modern Chinese society. Some supplementary materials are also prepared by the teachers when is necessary and appropriate. (Curriculum Plan, Apple Valley)</p> <p>They [teachers] send out these homework but they are pretty much based on the textbooks but they way the teach it's up to them. (HT, AVS)</p> <p>-----</p> <p>I hope that we can do more cultural things at the school. So far because we are all volunteers we don't have much time to do anything cultural outside the normal teaching. Especially for people who come to the school part of the experience is experiencing Chinese culture as a community not just as individuals. (HT, DRS)</p> <p>[The school aims to] provide opportunities for pupils to experience the Chinese culture by organising different kinds of cultural activities and celebrating Chinese festivals. (Website, AVS)</p> <p>We have Chinese New Year parties. We are lucky that we always get sponsors and a nice atmosphere and many guests. We try to promote the school in the society. Invite people, dignitaries and other people who are interested. (HT, AVS)</p>
	<p>2) informal teaching extra curricula activities-</p> <p>experiencing culture</p> <p>Idea of real Chinese culture. See Holliday (2010b) Question of what is culturally real in IC contexts.</p>	

	<p>Learner groups (ideologies of culture). Why are certain groups targeted?</p> <p>Promotion/retention/transmission of Chinese culture</p>	<p>The language can be taught and the culture as well. So like how Chinese people make meaning of particular things in the museums or in daily lives and how people greet each other. That's quite an important aspect for the future. (Head teacher, AVS)</p> <p>-----</p> <p>You never escape politics when you make sense of culture. It's not just about children learning real Chinese culture and language. It's about providing the nearest thing that you can get to going to China. (Head teacher, AVS)</p> <p>Especially for people who come to the school part of the experience is experiencing Chinese culture as a community not just as individuals. (Head teacher, DRS)</p>
		<p>The school's objects are to teach Chinese language and culture to children and adults to promote Chinese culture within our multi-cultural society for racial harmony, equality and diversity, in the city and county and beyond. (Website, AVS)</p> <p>It is intended that the fulfilment of the objects will meet the needs of children by providing an opportunity to learn Chinese language and culture at different levels of proficiency and assisting with retention of cultural identity by those children. (Constitution, AVS).</p> <p>It is hard to maintain language and culture by ourselves. It's a fight. Because we don't live in China we don't learn these things in our daily lives. We [parents and teachers] are all in the same boat. (Head Teacher, DRS)</p> <p>I guess that most of the parents were</p>

		<p>brought up in China and they are immigrants. They still identify themselves as being not just culturally but also politically Chinese. All these things needs to be maintained or you will realise that you have lost your roots and maybe your are not able to communicate with children. If you want to maintain it [culture] by yourself it's difficult because you have these social aspect of learning by communicating with other people. So that's places like Chinese schools as spaces for people to come together and learn from each other rather than just from media and the books. (Head teacher, AVS)</p>
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Appendix K: Pilot study

Analysis of Findings

Three themes have merged from the analysis of findings: importance of CCS as social space, importance of learning at school, pupils' engagement.

Importance of CCS as social space

Pupils attributed great importance to the social dimension of Chinese community schooling. Both their visual representations and their narratives displayed as central the idea of sharing the experience of community schooling with other pupils and parents. For example, May used her cartoon to represent the importance of playing with friends at the school. As Tony's drawings are minimalistic, the notes documenting his reflections are important in my analysis. I was particularly interested in his representation of a football pitch as there are not such facilities at the school. As discussed in the researcher notes:

Lucas said that one of the most important things is meeting and playing with friends. He represented a football pitch as he wishes that outdoor playtime was allowed by the teachers for children to spend time together.

Although playing outdoor was a projection of Lucas' desires rather than the representation of the actual reality of the school, similarly to May he stressed the importance of spending time with friends.

Furthermore, our discussion added an important dimension to the construction of friendship at the Chinese school. Pupils stated that the Chinese school is where they had their real friends because they are Chinese like them. As reported in the research field notes:

Children discussed the importance of being with people who are Chinese like them.

As presented in the literature review, pupils part of Archer et al. (2010) study on Cantonese community schooling valued school as beneficial social space where Chinese people can meet together and make friends. In their research the value of such friendships was closely related to the existence of a common

Chinese background. Echoing the findings of Archer et al. (2010), pupils part of my pilot study discussed the importance of having friends from a perceived similar backgrounds.

Theme two: importance of learning at school

The second theme explores the importance of Chinese community schooling as learning space. A first area of learning directly concerns Chinese language and particularly literacy skills. May represented in the first box of her cartoon storyboard: “I am happy because I learn new characters”. She also discussed how she felt proud of her Chinese literacy skills and, as shown in her storyboard, she decided to use both English captions and Chinese translations in her drawing.

Sybil was also proud of her literacy skills and how the school was helping her to improve them. Box 3 of her cartoon storyboard represents a blackboard in her classroom, with a multiple choice test on Chinese characters. She added the caption “it was fun! Smart!” and during our conversation:

She explained how being able to write in Chinese makes her
feeling smart and capable (from research field notes).

Pupils also mentioned how the school offered extra activities to improve on skills such as calligraphy paper cutting and dancing which also represent learning opportunities they could benefit from.

Theme three: pupils 'engagement

The third them concerns the way that pupils constructed their engagement and what impact it had on the their broader experience of community schooling. I used the term engagement to refer to pupils' attitudes towards schooling, their participation in school activities and how they internalised their experience of community schooling.

All participants wanted to represent not just what they do at school, but how they feel about being at school, therefore I coded “feelings” as third candidate theme. Two responses were fully positive bringing in ideas of “happiness”, “love”, “fun” and sense of “reward”. Such positive feelings about the school were

due to two main factors: sense of achievement and friendship building. Tony had mixed feelings about the school as he was happy to play with friends, but did want to share what his sadness depended on. Unfortunately three drawings were not enough to break down the idea of the school generating mixed feelings, particularly negative ones and more information about this point might emerge from the actual study.

Overall pupils constructed Chinese community schooling as an important space to facilitate both learning and friendships. First, the importance of learning encompassed different domains: although language, and especially literacy, was highly valued by pupils, other skills (e.g., dancing) were also considered important. Most importantly, the sense of achievement and reward pupils gained through community schooling had a positive impact on the way they saw themselves. Further, pupils considered making friends at the school as a beneficial thing for them. Echoing the findings of previous studies (e.g. Archer et al., 2010), they especially valued the opportunity to make friends with other Chinese children that they referred to as “real friends”.

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